

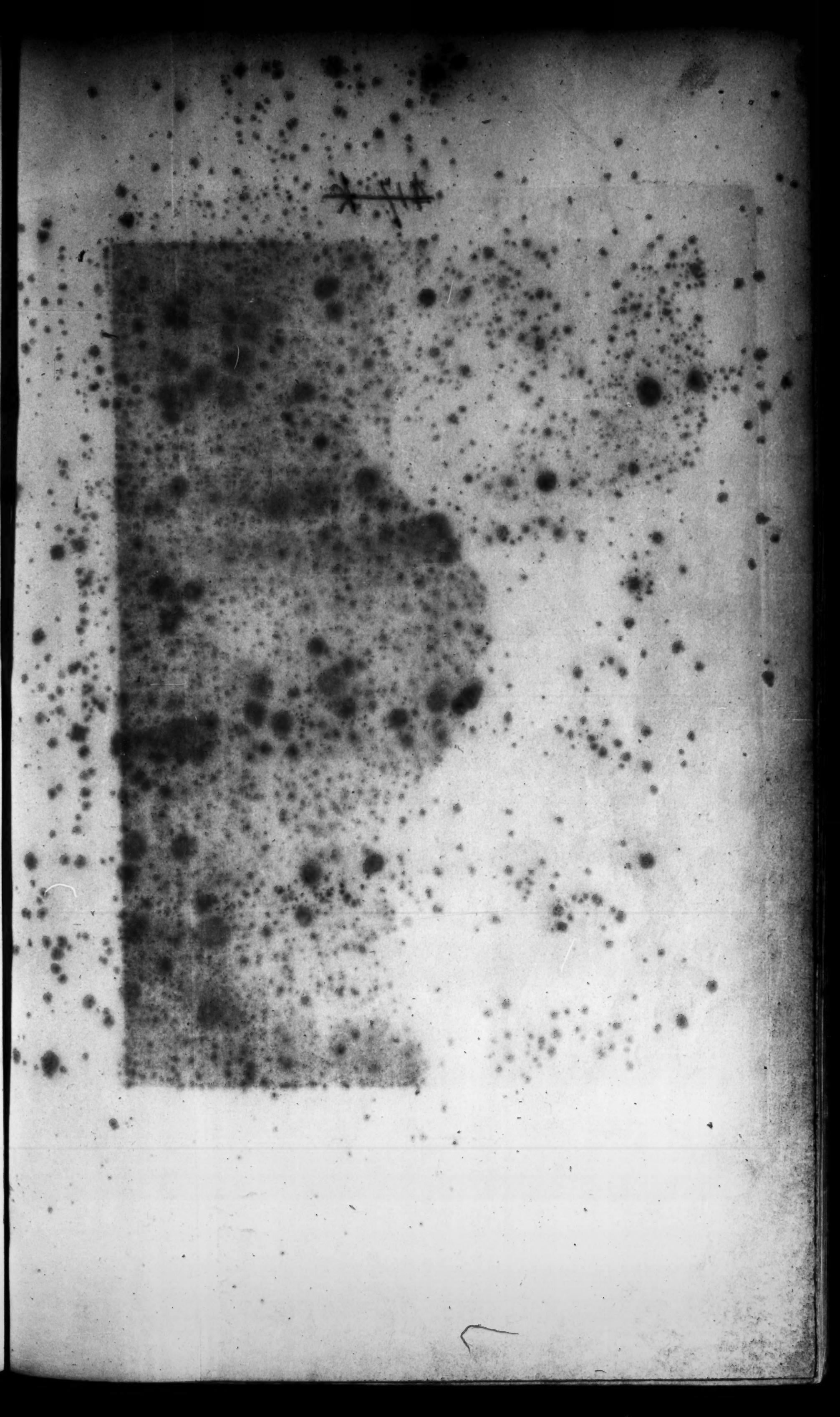
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MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

417 K

MUNICIPALITY OF ALBUQUERQUE



Frontispiece.



N. C. View of the Norfolk and Western

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR, 1851.

MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA;

OR,

5. 2*

OBSERVATIONS ON
ANTIEN T CASTLES.

INCLUDING

REMARKS ON THE
WHOLE PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE,
ECCLESIASTICAL, AS WELL AS MILITARY,
IN GREAT BRITAIN:

AND ON

THE CORRESPONDING CHANGES, IN
MANNERS, LAWS, AND CUSTOMS.

TENDING BOTH TO ILLUSTRATE

MODERN HISTORY:

AND TO ELUCIDATE MANY INTERESTING PASSAGES IN VARIOUS
ANTIEN T CLASSIC AUTHORS.

BY

EDWARD KING, ESQ. F.R.S. AND A.S.

Modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis. Hor. Ep.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. BULMER AND CO.

FOR G. NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL.

FEBRUARY,

MDCCXCIX.

MONUMENTA ANTIQVA

TO THE
CASTLES

THE
WHOLE

AND



OF THE

FOR

P R E F A C E.

WHEN these sheets, and those which are intended to follow this Volume, were first penned,—it was in days of peace, and of great and long prosperity; such as this country, and the rest of the kingdoms upon earth had not before known;—in days, when scenes and acts of savage barbarity were heard of only as antient tales; and scarce credited;—and when the mention that is made of them in these pages, as an illustration of the history of antient times, was necessarily to be introduced with much caution, and the citation of good authority, to prevent their being considered as mere fables; and as depreciating the narration, rather than affording useful light.

But we have lived, in these late ages of the world, to have such dreadful scenes of more than savage barbarity revived,—that, before the book can be published, the just apprehension is now become, lest such narrations should be even deemed useless; as mere needless efforts to convince mankind of that horrid depravity of human nature, with which they are only too well acquainted.

There is, however, still one material difference, between the savage cruelties, and ravages of antient, and of modern times; which may render the accounts here given interesting:—and which, though it tends to the greater condemnation of the present age, yet affords some consolation.

The antient scenes of shocking outrage,—were in days of dark ignorance ;—and before it had pleased God to bestow upon the world the comforts arising from the improvements of ingenious arts and labours, and of what are *called inventions* of true genius :—but the horrid scenes of modern outrage, and barbarity,—are in the midst of such rapid and refined improvements of elegant arts, and of all the most effectual means of cultivating the face of the whole globe of earth, as surely cannot but be considered, even in the midst of the dire scene, (and whilst adversaries to truth, and true religion are, without knowing it, bringing to pass the decrees of Heaven) as harbingers of better tidings ;—and as preparations for a future sudden burst of peace and glory : when, at the time appointed by *The Almighty*, and in the way *His Divine Wisdom has decreed*, all things shall soon be brought to perfection.

The original intention of writing these sheets was, to apply the *study of Antiquities* to the elucidation of the history of the ways of Divine Providence, in gradual successive dispensations ; and of His dealings with the sons of men, in leading them from strength to strength, till His wondrous work and purpose, in the very first creation of the human soul, shall be finally accomplished.—And this strange change of human manners, which has *now*, so suddenly, and so dreadfully taken place, checking, apparently, for a short time, the progress of improvement, does only render the important history even still more interesting.

The tale therefore of antient deeds, and of antient modes of living, begun in these pages, may still be allowed to go on, without interruption ;—though modern barbarity of manners, becomes such a sad refinement of the antient, and more execrable barbarism ; as to render the tale somewhat less surprising and striking.

The beginning of our narration, and which is contained in this Volume,—relates solely to *the earliest periods* in Britain ; before the invasion of the Romans.—The days of primæval sim-

plicity, and rudeness;—the days of Druidism,—and of Patriarchal manners.

And here; with regard to such of the Druidical structures as were indeed unquestionably Temples; I have carefully avoided, as much as possible, the repeating, or interfering with what has been written, so much at large, by *Doctor Stukely*:—leaving the curious still to draw their own conclusions from his learned dissertations;—though it cannot but be observed, that in the course of this work, conclusions, even on different grounds, have led me very much to agree with him. My object, it will be found, has been to add, if possible, by fair observations, new and additional light to the interesting subject; by an investigation of circumstances, which had before escaped due notice.

And in other points, with regard to *Rowland, Borlase*, and other able writers, to whom we are so much indebted, it will be found that I have, as much as possible, observed the same rule.

The second Volume, which has the Plates already engraved, and is printing with all expedition, will relate to the works of the Romans in this Island, and the improvements introduced by them;—to such works of the Britons as were *imitations* of Phœnician, and Syrian architecture, with which they were made acquainted by the traffickers for tin;—and to such as were mere *imitations* of Roman architecture;—and also to such as, in the more barbarous parts of the Island, were only *imitations of those imitations*.

The third Volume, which is also ready for the press; will contain the history of what truly relates to the *Saxon* times.

And the fourth, the History of the strenuous efforts of *Norman* genius:—and of the preparations which their sturdy, and violent endeavours were permitted to make for better times.

As viewing the history of our country in this light, has opened a scene of wonder and delight; and carrying with it a firm conviction of truth, though mixed with much novelty of ideas, to the mind

of the Author ; it may perhaps become no less striking, and interesting to the minds of others.

The world becomes, by this means, in the truest sense, the great and splendid *theatre*, on which are displayed the wonders of Divine wisdom, and designation, bringing light out of darkness, and a spiritual world of created beings to maturity.

— But there are scenes ; amidst which we must proceed with cautious steps.

In this first part, therefore, it may be observed, that there are circumstances of particular superstitious observances, that are said to have prevailed amongst the Druids, which yet are not detailed at length in these pages.

And the reason is,—because they do not relate to the peculiar object of these observations ;—because also of the uncertainty with regard to some of them, (many of the conclusions resting on surmise ;)—and because they have been more than sufficiently mentioned by others ;—whilst, at the same time, it is surely to be wished, that a veil should for ever be drawn over the foul and foolish abominations of horrible idolatry ; wherever sacred truth does not demand the naming of them.

Such circumstances are ;—

The account of the stately old Tree, in the deep wood, with its branches lopped off ; and having the two largest fixed expanding horizontally at top, so as to cause the whole to resemble the form of a T.

The use of the ideal device of the orbicular winged serpent ;—so much corresponding with the idea of the wings, the orb, and the serpent, found amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The use also of the ideal device of the *Mundane Egg*.

And the pretence concerning the *Anguinum*, or *Serpent Stone*, sometimes called the *Adder Stone*.

The various kinds of Lustrations :

The attention to the *white* horse, and to the *white* bull.

The veneration for the *vervain*, and other consecrated grasses;—which was perhaps only a dark initiation to some science of botany, and medicine.

The reverence for the *Crescent Moon*.

The hallowed, and unhallowed solemn Turnings from east to west, or from west to east.

The supposed Dances of three groups; the one wheeling round in a circle, from the right hand to the left; and the other from the left hand to the right; with the slow walk of the third round a central altar, at the same time.

The supposed Fire Dances.

The Fires, or Bealtine, lighted on the Cairns, on May-eve:—and the Double Fires on May-day; between which they caused their men and beasts to pass, which were destined to be sacrificed.

And finally, the horrid magical rites of devoting their enemies; in deep groves, whose trees were sprinkled, and reeking, with blood and gore.

Barely to name such detestable offences of dark ages, (from any enlarged narration of which, if such had been possible, no good could be derived;) is more than sufficient.

And the more interesting and safe pursuit, is to investigate, by means of scattered Remains of antient labour and architecture, and by means of scattered Records, *how*, amidst the deepest errors, useful exertions have yet been made;—and how the mind of man has been insensibly guided through the whole wondrous chain of events, from gloomy darkness, unto hope, and light.—How obstinate prejudices have been overcome;—the bonds of habit broken;—and the fetters that held the human mind in such sad durance, by degrees loosened.

This will be still more the purport of what is proposed to be printed in the succeeding Volumes, than even of what is contained

in this. But as, in this present Volume, there has been occasion both to refer to, and to fling some light upon, the historical part of the *Holy Scriptures*; and also upon several passages in the most *antient classic authors*; two short Indexes are added; besides a very full and minute Table of Contents.

The one Index, points out the Passages in the *Holy Scriptures*, that are at all illustrated in these pages;—in regular order, according to the arrangement of the Sacred Books.

And the other Index, leads to such passages in *antient writers*, as are here placed in any striking point of view;—or have had any additional light cast upon them.—And also some particular circumstances, besides those mentioned in the Table of Contents, that are most deserving of notice.—And is made as short, and comprehensive, as possible.

The same plan will be pursued in the succeeding Volumes; if the Author's life is spared to print them.—And as to the rest of their contents; it would be improper *here* to repeat what has been said in the *Advertisement prefixed to the VESTIGES OF OXFORD CASTLE*. And especially as no part of that *little Tract* will now be inserted in the body of this publication; but the whole will be left to be bound as an *Appendix* to the work at large: that no one may be obliged to purchase the contents of that Dissertation, in any shape, a second time, for the completion of this publication.

How far the endeavour of rendering the search after Antiquities more interestingly useful, has been accomplished in these Volumes, every reader must judge for himself:—and faithful endeavours must speak for themselves; after a candid examination of the conclusions they produce.

Real science can never be advanced (as has been sometimes vainly attempted in antiquarian researches) by shallow conceits; or by hasty and precipitate conclusions, from a slight view of things; or by obstinate adherence to early imbibed prejudices. Patient

examination; repeated comparison of antient Remains, to discover the agreement or disagreement even of minute parts; and much candour, to embrace fair and plain deductions, (however contrary to our original apprehensions;) are necessary to investigate truth, in any shape; and more especially in subjects of this nature.

The Antiquary must undergo the laborious drudgery, of taking many accurate measures; and even of adopting different modes of admeasurement, in order to form, as accurately as possible, exact plans,—instead of resting satisfied with mere picturesque views;—must bear the provocation of servants making mistakes and blunders, in stretching the measuring line, and in reading the figures;—must bear the vexation of having figures, written with a pencil, sometimes rubbed out; or others blotted;—must bear the fatigue of travelling through roads almost impassable; and of returning to view ruined objects, over and over again;—must bestow a vast exertion of memory, both natural, and artificial; before he can obtain any right apprehension of those strong and certain outlines of the Remains of past ages, which are absolutely necessary for the clear illustration of the Records of antient times.

He must endeavour, as it were, with an energetic spirit of apprehension, to enter, by a retrospective view, into the very ideas of the original architects; and that also with ideas corresponding to the circumstances of the times in which they lived.

And when he has done all, must bear the mortification of having those who afterwards visit the spots with less cautious apprehensions, and with less diligence of investigation, or after alterations have actually been made, question his accuracy; and contradict his accounts.

The rapid mischievous destruction, that there has been of all antient buildings, of late years, is almost incredible.

I could scarce visit any of them without hearing of some mischief

lately done ; and of towers undermined, or pulled down, within memory.

Not a few curious Castles, and Venerable Buildings, in England, have I passed, in the earlier part of my life, recollecting anecdotes of their history, and delighting to view them ; as if treading upon a sort of *classic* ground ;—(but making, at the time, no drawings, nor taking any measures ;)—and when, from such recollection as I had, I wished to return, and to avail myself of the benefit of more accurate examination ;—their most important parts were either mutilated ;—or else changed, by that worst species of barbarism, called modernization.

Perhaps, it may *now* be needful to render some account of the *first origin* of this work :—and there may be some persons, whose leisure, and curiosity, may lead them to wish to be acquainted with the history of its progress.—

A life begun in habits of intercourse with several persons of refined taste, and elegant pursuits, soon led the Author to an admiration of the Remains of Antiquity. But fair reflection soon led, also, to a conviction, that the study of Antiquities, as far as it tended only to cherish the idle admiration of frivolous works of refined ingenuity, applied at first even to the purposes of gross idolatry, and baneful superstition, is one of the most childish and useless pursuits on the face of the earth :—but, as applied, either by medallic Remains, or otherwise, to elucidate truth, and to investigate the *real* history of past ages ; is one of the most noble, and interesting employments, that can occupy the human mind.

Full of this idea, it soon occurred to my mind ; that surely those magnificent *Castellated Remains* of past ages, which had, in general, been considered only as fine picturesque objects in a landscape ;—or, at most, as only worthy the having some short account rendered of their successive possessors ;—without any sufficient inquiry into their real plan, nature, and design ;—might

deserve a careful comparison one with another, as well as the smaller vestiges of antiquity:—and might, by such comparison, lead us to a still more solid kind of information.

Born in an age, in which all ideas of the mode of dwelling in the antient *Castellated Mansions* of this country, were so entirely forgotten, in consequence of the happy improvements of succeeding æras of civilization and freedom; that all the design, and the curious devices of their artificial structure, were become almost totally unknown; and indeed unintelligible, on any mere cursory view; (by which means many, even of the most curious circumstances of History, were rendered both uninstrusive, and uninteresting;)—I was soon induced, after having viewed a few of those towering structures that were least decayed, with a scrutinizing eye, and eagerly attentive and apprehensive mind, to proceed to compare more of them together, with cautious examination: and having found how much light was to be obtained for the illustration of the most important parts of the History of Mankind, by proceeding in this untrodden path,—I ventured to put together my first conclusions, in a few pages, which I presented, as a Memoir, to the Society of Antiquaries:—and which was printed, in the IVth Volume of the *Archæologia*, in 1777.

The rude sketches accompanying that Memoir, though ill drawn, as being merely by my own hand, were yet sufficiently correct to explain, and to elucidate the whole account.—And the truths recovered from oblivion, by that first effort, excited the most eager curiosity to press forward, following the same researches.—This produced another, and much longer, Memoir, which I also presented to the Society of Antiquaries; and which was printed in the VIth Volume of the *Archæologia*, in 1782.

Here the Drawings, and the Plans, were many of them most minutely accurate: and even such as had not that precision, were yet quite sufficient to convey fairly the general idea of what was

described;—and to explain fully what was most important to be attended to.

Both these Memoirs were joined together, in one quarto Volume, of about 200 pages, for the use of a few friends.

And I had now the satisfaction to find, that *truth* was indeed able to support its own cause:—and that an age, enjoying the blessing and advantage of having been delivered from the depression and blind ignorance that had reigned in the world, whilst *Castles*, and *Cloistered Monasteries*, almost solely afforded *Necessary Protection*, against barbarous violence, and oppression;—had also attained such a spirit of scientific curiosity, as to make the accounts of those splendid *Dungeons*, which had first been so long forgotten as objects of terror, to become at last exceedingly objects of literary inquiry, and pursuit.

But upon this arose a circumstance, deserving still further attention;—and requiring still further elucidation:—a necessity of guarding against the effect produced by the change of appearance made in antient Remains, in consequence of devastations, and alterations, subsequent to my visits to them;—and also of guarding against the mistakes of those, who content themselves with a cursory survey of such objects.

Even within these so few years, since the writing of the Memoirs to which I refer, *Rochester Castle* has been so altered, by fitting it up to be a repository, at one time, for the arms of the County Militia; and then for other purposes;—*Norwich Castle* has been so mutilated;—and its principal front so totally destroyed; and covered with additional buildings;—and *Canterbury Castle* has been so changed, by having all the buildings that were within it, at the time of my survey, pulled down; and so altered with respect to its environs, by having the great road turned close to it;—that these Great Castles no longer carry the same strong, and striking marks of their original curiosity.—And I have found that hasty, and incau-

tious observers, have sometimes fallen into that very error, which I was so carefully guarded against myself, by the old and experienced persons living near the spot, with whom I visited those Remains;—the error of mistaking, for original parts of the Castle;—walls built in later ages;—(and most obviously seen to be such, when scrupulously examined, by their materials:)—of mistaking newel staircases, that had been constructed with old materials, and even partly in the *outside* of the walls of the original structure, merely for the benefit of houses that once adjoined; as parts of the original building:—and the error of mistaking an excavation, left by the destruction of a really original staircase; merely for an empty well;—(though it is of much too large dimensions to have been designed for any such purpose;)—and the error of doubting the existence of appearances, which once were visible enough; but which are so no more.

Some other Structures also, the memorial of which deserve well to be preserved, have been more changed and disguised, within these last twenty years, than for centuries before.

Whilst, therefore, a full conviction of the utility of pursuing the path of inquiry I had fallen into, for the purpose of flinging light on the History of our own Country;—and even upon that of the remotest, and earliest People on the face of the earth;—had caused me to resume my labours; and to endeavour to investigate *the whole progress* of Architectural Improvements, as accompanying the progress of civilization, and change of manners, from the earliest periods; these other concomitant circumstances, and a desire to elucidate the whole subject still more fully; determined me, without hesitation, to lay the whole result of all my labours, in one plain point of view, fairly before the public;—and in such a combined manner, as to carry the utmost weight of evidence possible.—And also with such helps, of Tables of Contents, and Indexes, as might explain the whole more fully; and, as might at

once render the illustration of the various historical parts of the Holy Scriptures; and of various Passages in antient Authors; and the account of the several identical Structures; capable of being easily referred to, by the curious, on any occasion.

The Plans, and the Drawings, were almost all of them made from careful surveys, and exact measurements, taken by myself, with much labour, and pains; and even corrected, in many instances, by repeated visits.—And the Drawings were finished, some by a very able draughtsman, Mr. John Sanders, now of Bath; with constant emendations of every interesting part, under my own eye;—and others were finished, by my Niece, Ann Copson; who was upon the spot, when I visited several of the places; and saw herself almost all that she ventured to execute;—and who also had all her draughts examined, and carefully compared with my measures, and the most exact observations I could make.

Her Drawings are all marked A. C. on the Plates;—though she is now married to the Hon. Henry Windsor;—and I should do her injustice did I not say, that they may be classed amongst the most accurate of any in these Volumes.

Wherever any other Drawings, which I have been favoured with from any ingenious and curious persons, are added; I have mentioned *the names of those Friends*, with all due acknowledgment, in the accompanying descriptions.

And now it ought to be premised;—that even yet;—and after all the care, that has been used in preparing the materials to illustrate the observations in these pages;—there may, unavoidably, be still some imperfections, and errors, both in some of my Plans, and in some of these Drawings;—which errors, those who follow me in visiting the objects described, may possibly, by the assistance, and inducement here afforded for the consideration of them, still more accurately discover; though they have escaped my notice.—But it ought to be remembered by all, who may ever be able to add

any more correct designs ;—that they would probably neither have comprehended the Plans of those Buildings at all ; nor have thought of attending to any such minute circumstances relating to them, unless they had first received from these persevering labours, an intelligible leading outline, to assist them in pursuing their further inquiries.

I found *those Buildings* so buried in ruins, when I began my researches :—and had so many tedious neglected paths to tread ;—and so many prejudices to encounter ;—that it was needful, to abide, for a time, by the advantage, solely, of hasty sketches,—and of a few glimmering right ideas ; before I could fully discover my way ;—or, by repeated comparisons of objects, perceive the traces of the road to truth ; in an investigation, which is yet of so much importance for the truest illustration of the most interesting parts of the history of mankind.

In the executing of the Engravings, it may be observed, that I have, in some instances, purposely chosen to give mere Etchings ; or even mere outlines ; rather than finished Copper-plates :—but I have done so, both to avoid increasing the expence of this work unnecessarily ;—and also, because such Etchings are not only quite adequate to the representation of such parts of antient Structures as are, on those occasions, described ; but do even, in a more characteristick manner, serve to mark precisely the minute differences, and distinctions, in the several parts, and periods, of Architecture, that are meant to be pointed out ;—for in engravings, upon a small scale, the effect of a very necessary small outline is too often rendered confused, and spoiled, by the shading, and high finishing of the adjoining parts ;—whilst a simple etching, of even the outline alone, conveys the right idea precisely.

I have only to add ; that it may appear to some persons, a want of accuracy ; that the Plates, instead of being all numbered in precisely correct arithmetical order, have frequently one or two

interveningly inserted; and marked with the preceding number; only with the addition of $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{2}{3}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$.—But, in reality, the adopting this method arose from a determination to increase both the accuracy, and the utility of the whole work, by every means possible;—as it was the only method of leaving an opportunity, during the printing, of inserting whatever might be *further* obtained capable of affording any better illustration.—For another reason also, this could not well be avoided;—for the manuscript having been already, in great part, written, with references throughout, to a great number of original Drawings, and designed Plates, which had been precisely numbered.—No additional Plate could have been inserted afterwards, from time to time; nor the first arrangement of any of the Drawings have been changed; unless in this manner; without deranging all the subsequent references throughout the whole manuscript; and occasioning so much confusion as would have utterly barred any addition; correction; or improvement, whatever.

Now then it only remains to be said; that **ANTIEN** RUINS are, in this latter period of the world, become some of the best means of aiding us to trace out, by their different peculiar styles, the different peculiar characters, dispositions, and acquirements of different successive ages;—for almost every age has had its peculiar marks, and character, left strongly impressed on the style, and manifest design of all its buildings.—And in these sheets, justice has been endeavoured to be rendered to all;—neither ascribing merit, from an idle veneration for Antiquity, to such æras, and Structures, as abounded with rude blunders;—nor depriving any, of the credit of those extraordinary exertions, which were wonderfully made, in the midst of the greatest disadvantages;—and under circumstances, in which a fierce, hardy, race of men, dwelt in ignorance; and sometimes, almost literally, in *darkness visible*;—serving an hard warfare, with few comforts of life, and with still fewer improvements of the mind.

The gloomy Mansions of Saxon, and of Norman days, strike the mind oftentimes with awe, and reverence.—But however wondered at;—they cannot often be sincerely praised:—nor be compared with the admired elegance of Grecian, and Roman Structures.—They have, however, frequently such a rude sublimity of thought and design manifested in their Architecture;—as produces uniformly an effect upon the mind, far surpassing any ideas of grandeur that could possibly be excited, by the more regular rules of Grecian art, even when aided by Roman greatness.

They were unhappily, in general, most horrible Mansions, either of War and Desolation,—or of blind Superstition and Imposition.—And indeed their best recommendation was; that they were occasionally Protections also, against ferocious and savage barbarity; which could hardly have been avoided any otherwise;—and Residences, where sometimes were nurtured, and cherished, those admirable spirits of intelligence, by whose honest labours Science was not only restored in the world; but made, at last, to rear its head with redoubled vigour.—Much oftener, however, were they the cradles of that very state of ferocity, and stupid ignorance, that generally prevailed;—and that bore down all before it;—and, indeed, the very instruments of *maintaining* violence, and oppression.

Much does it import us, in these days, to be watchful;—lest a licentious disposition, on the one hand;—artful imposition on the other;—and an abuse of the advantages we have enjoyed,—should insensibly drive us back to a situation, wherein again may be wanted such *Castellated Mansions*,—to protect us, in like manner, against almost forgotten cruelties;—against revived barbarity;—and against modern savages:—and, lest again should be wanted, no less gloomy dens, to preserve and cherish whatever real Science, and good meaning may be left in the world.

For all that has been good in the world, appears very much to have been, in its first root, merely *derivative*;—and only the due

cultivation of Divine instruction; and of certain principles of rectitude, and ingenuity, first imbibed from the information and guidance of those who went before us;—and then brought to maturity, by reflection, and diligence.—And even what are called *Inventions*; are (when fully considered) found to be only additional branches of improvement, proceeding from the first vast stem.

Whatever may be philosophically (as it is called) fancied, or concluded, concerning the innate faculties of the human soul;—and its own powers of exertion;—experience has now taught us, in every age, and in every climate, that it is totally unable of itself, and by its own energy alone, to emerge from barbarism, and ignorance;—or to produce, without external assistance, and borrowed light, the boasted improvements of art, and of civilization.

The New Hollanders;—the South Sea Islanders;—the Kamtschadales;—the Indians both of North and South America;—and the Negro Inhabitants of Africa;—are all standing proofs of this fact:—having advanced very little, if at all, during so many centuries, beyond the bare supply of the wants and necessities of nature, in the rudest manner; as first taught them, by those wretched, wandering, ignorant parents, from whom, in those respective countries, they derived their antient descent.*

* The wretched condition of human nature, in a barbarous state:—cast down, (as all mankind, when left devoid of heavenly help, and in a fallen state, *originally* are,) has not been sufficiently attended to, by those who have, by means of God's mercy, been delivered from the horrors of it.

Perhaps—even the wretched *Cannibal Disposition* of the *Carribbee Indians*; and that of the *New Zealanders*; and of other barbarous people; was originally brought upon them, by a sort of imagined *necessity*, either in their very narrow insulated, or else in their barren situation, of finding food; when, (for want of industry; and for want of the assistance of better informed minds, who had never yet reached their shores, to teach them a right cultivation of their land, and of the powers of their minds) they could hardly find even sufficient sustenance, unless by such an horrid device, as that of *devouring* their supposed enemies;—enemies who had nothing to be plundered of except their bodies, that could supply the pressing want.

And *whence-soever* the very earliest inhabitants of Asia derived their skill in Architecture, and other noble Sciences;—whether it was directly by inspiration from heaven; or by tradition from the sons of Noah, who had carefully preserved, as far as they possibly could, the most valuable and useful knowledge which the human mind had been inspired with in its best estate; nothing can be more plain, to a careful Observer of History; or to a faithful Investigator of Antiquity, than that from *the Noachide*, (of whose inspired skill the very building of the *Ark* itself was a great proof,) either immediately, or mediately, all the rest of the civilized Nations upon earth, have derived the first dawnings of Art, and of Science; however they may have advanced, or improved, any branch thereof since.

The whole progress of Civilization, and Improvement in this world, resembles, perhaps, with the closest analogy, the growth of a vast Tree; watered from on high, with Divine light, and spreading its branches, indeed, over the whole earth; but continually discovering its original trunk, and root; without the support of which, not one branch has even grown to maturity.

Hence we have seen Egypt deriving Art, as well as the Science of Astronomy, from the Chaldeans;—Greece adorned by skill, and ingenuity derived from Egypt; and from the Persians;—Rome profiting after the example of all these:—and when it had first imported, by *Mummius*, spoils of which it knew not the value; producing afterwards still nobler specimens of Art, and Industry; although the stern Consul's authority, would not have been by any means sufficient, *to make the Ship Masters repair the loss of Grecian works of Art*, according to his threats.—And lastly, we have seen all these Western parts of Europe adorned with, and profited, by imitations of Greek and Roman works, and elegance.

It is no wonder, therefore, if upon close investigation, we find the first dawnings of Architecture, in this country, to have been

derived, in fact, from its intercourse with the Carthaginians, and Phœnicians ;—and to have been of *Syrian* origin :—and the next Improvements, to have been derived from the *Romans* ; after their visits, and successes in this Island :—the succeeding ones, to have been, at first, a sort even of retrogradation ;—and the mere efforts of such uncivilized invaders, as brought over their own imperfect ideas of Building ; which they had already obtained in their respective native countries :—but the last vast increase of skill, and the glorious works it produced, —to have been in consequence of calm reflection, on the labours of past ages ; and of the exertion of great ingenuity, fostered, and put in action, by due instruction ; and drawn forth, by peculiar circumstances of situation, to the exertion of those faculties, which must ever be considered, in every age, as heavenly gifts ; and of Divine original ;—however, sometimes abused, or however improved.

If, therefore, that remarkable passage in Diodorus,* where he relates what he had learned from the writings of *Hecataeus*, concerning a people called *Hyperboreans*, (because their Island is more remote from the cold freezing north wind,) that has so often been cited by various writers, as supposed to refer to the *Britons*, (though Diodorus names them not by *that name* here, as he does in other parts of his work ;—and though one does not well know what to make of the part of the description, wherein it is said that they have a *double harvest* in each year ;)—if that passage does really refer to *them*, and to their *Druids* ;—Then, when we find him saying, that “ they have “ a Magnificent Grove *τέμενος* ;—and a Temple worthy to be spoken “ of, adorned with many *ἀναθήματα*, consecrated devotements ;— “ which is of a circular plan ;—and a sacred city adjoining, inhabited almost entirely by harpers ; who, without intermission, “ sing hymns in verse, with melody :—and that they have a language peculiar to themselves ; but yet have connection with the

* Lib. II. 91, 92.—p. 158, 159, Wesselingii ed.

“Grecians, and particularly with the *Athenians*, and *Delians*;—
 “some of whom are said to have left *ἀναθήματα*, *consecrated devote-*
 “*ments* amongst them, inscribed with *Greek Letters*;—and that the
 “Moon is seen from this Island, so as to appear absolutely *but a*
 “*little distant from the earth*;—and so, as that *τινας ἐξ ὧν γινώσκου-*
 “*μεν ἔχουσιν φανεράς*, it appears to have certain *terrestrial projections visible*
 “*upon it*;”—If all this did really refer to the *Britons*; we can only
 conclude, perhaps, that the *double harvest* related to a reaping of
 both *corn*, and *hay*, in some of the more southern parts of Britain
 visited by the Phoenicians;—and that the Island had not been so
 entirely sequestered from the Grecians, in the south-west parts, as
 the Romans imagined.—And, with regard to the account concern-
 ing the Moon appearing *larger, and nearer to the Earth*;—and their
 being able to perceive *certain terrestrial projections on its disk*;—we
 can only conclude; either that it imported no more than their
 taking more particular notice than other people of the comparative
 largeness of the *horizontal Moon*, from the elevated situation of some
 of their sacred Circles of Observation, (and because of its having its
 magnitude increased, *still more, by the haziness of an insular situation*;)—
 —and their taking more particular notice than others of the fixed
 outlines of distinction, between the shaded part of the apparent
 map, so visible on its disk, and the bright parts:—or else we must
 conclude, that they had a further degree, both of *Optical*, and
 of *Astronomical* Knowledge, derived from the more learned first
 branches of mankind, than even Cæsar was aware of;—and which
 they still cultivated with some degree of care.

And if the accounts given us of their teaching their Science only
 in verses, and by memory; and in so slow a manner, that twenty
 years were required to form an adept, be indeed true;—this will
 somewhat account, both for its being so much concealed from the
 rest of the world; and for its being lost, in the end.

That they really had Geometrical Science, as well as Astrono-

mical, may very fairly be concluded, from the evident design of the form of an *Ellipsis*, in some of their *Sacred Circles*:—and particularly from the exact *elliptical Bason*, which Borlase says, he met with, on *Karnbre Hill*, in Cornwall.

There cannot, however, be a doubt, but that this hidden mysterious science has been estimated by some persons too highly.—For, if it had not, it must, notwithstanding any concealments, have produced better effects than ever appeared.—And, in like manner, as to Druid Arts, and Magnificence;—those must also, by some persons, have been estimated too highly, even in early days;—when we find such accounts, as that given by *Dion Chrysostom*, of their administering justice, sitting on thrones of gold. To discover what effects of science are certainly apparent amongst the Remains of British Antiquity; and with what sort of care any kind of derivative advantages seem to have been pursued;—either by the *Britons* themselves;—or by their various *Successors*, in a long succession of ages;—will be the purport of all the ensuing sheets.

And if the accounts given us of their teaching their Science only in verses, and by memory; and in so slow a manner, that twenty years were required to learn an adept, be indeed true;—this will somewhat account, both for its being so much concealed from the rest of the world; and for its being lost, in the end. That they really had Geometrical Science, as well as Astrono-

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CHAPTER VII.

ERRATA.

Page 98, line 5, for *Cettes*, read *Cells*.

120, l. 4 from bottom, for *Kinvër*, read *Kinfare*.

274, at the bottom, for *Westenii*, read *Wesselingii*.

325, l. 9 from the bottom, dele, *on the other side*.

MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

BOOK I.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORKS OF THE
ANTIEN BRITONS.

INTRODUCTION.

To trace the progressive improvements of mankind, in various countries; to contemplate nations emerging from barbarism to a state of civilization; and to discover, with any degree of perspicuity, the means by which these gradual improvements have been made; is surely one of the most interesting speculations afforded to the human mind.

It effectually tends to awaken in us an humble sense of our own original low estate, and insignificance, amidst created beings.

It insensibly calls forth a tribute of most grateful thanks, to the Great Creator and Lord of all; who amidst the confusion of turbulent spirits, during their first state of trial, and opportunity of action, is continually causing all things to tend insensibly to arrangement, and order. And who so disposes of all events, that whilst, during their progressive state, the different tempers, and disorderly passions of a successive race of ignorant and sturdy free agents, do unavoidably produce mischief, He is yet, from age to age, continually bringing forth good out of evil; and promoting the best final welfare of all.

It leads us, with due regard and affection, to venerate those, by whose energetic efforts and labours, though under manifold disad-

vantages, the human mind has been continually pressing forwards: and in consequence of whose honest endeavours, guided by Almighty help and goodness, the dawn of art, and of science, and of a meliorated state of things has appeared.

And the natural effect of the whole contemplation, whilst we rejoice in such advantages as we have now obtained beyond our predecessors, is to excite in our minds still further efforts, for the promoting increase of good order, arts, science, industry, and ingenuity; and of whatever may best tend to the general welfare of mankind, and to the higher improvement of future ages.

When with due reflection we behold the wretched, almost naked, aboriginal Briton, in his hovel in the woods,* feeding upon nuts and acorns; or at best living only a very little better than a New Zealand savage;

When we rightly consider the real condition of the fierce invading Saxon, besmeared with blood; proudly quaffing a vile intoxication from the excavated skull of his enemy, in imitation of the fabulous dire revels in *Woden's* hall; and incapable of any quiet enjoyment of life;

When we reflect upon the sturdy Norman, cased in steel, for the

* It is most curious to observe the contempt with which the Romans spoke concerning Britain; as a place which had not any thing, worth relating, concerning it; † a country utterly barbarous; in the extreme part of the earth. ‡

Its inhabitants, savage to strangers; totally uncivilized; and even, neither visited by, or conformed to, the enlightened parts of the earth.

The inhabitants of New Holland are hardly considered by us in so inferior a light, as the Britons were considered by the Romans.

Perhaps the time may come, when our ideas, concerning the inhabitants of New Holland, may be considered, and remarked upon, in the same manner, in which we now consider the words of *Horace*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*.

In the mean time it may be worthy of intelligent attention, also to remember the light in which *King Agrippa*, before whom Paul delivered his energetical apology, considered the Britons, in a speech recorded by *Josephus*; which, from its style and composition, and every circumstance attending it, there is the utmost reason to believe was truly original; and, as such, had a copy of it delivered, by *Agrippa* himself, to the venerable author.

† *Strabo*, lib. iv. 190—p. 289. Amsterdam ed. *Diodorus*, lib. iii. 120—p. 204. lib. v. 203—p. 346.

‡ *Horace Carm.* lib. i. Ode 15. v. 30. lib. ii. Ode 4. v. 33. *Epod.* lib. Ode 7. v. 7.

maintenance of the rights of his liege lord, and of his own fiefs; proudly imitating the lobster in his fancied security; and serving a bitter warfare all the days of his life, as the price of his inheritance; without means of duly cultivating either his land or his mind;

When we justly apprehend, what it must have been to have lived under such circumstances; how is it possible to avoid turning the eye of the mind instantly, to the easy industrious yeoman; or to the quiet manufacturer; in the days of Queen Elizabeth; or rather to the Courtly Knight of that glorious reign? and much more, how is it possible to avoid contemplating the present race of men; and their manifold advantages in the various ranks of society; however unworthy they may be of them, or however those advantages may be abused?

This extraordinary person, King Agrippa, who built those walls about Jerusalem, that were, at last, its greatest strength; * and who to the last laboured to save the Jews from their final immediate cause of destruction; endeavouring to dissuade them from their revolt against the Romans, by setting before them the power, and successes of that people, whom he considered as *instruments* in the hands of the *Almighty God*; said, amongst other things, endeavouring to shew their invincible strength;

"Nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth, beyond the ocean; and have carried their arms as far as such British islands, as were never known before. † Do you, also, who depend on the walls of *Jerusalem*, consider what a wall the Britons had? For the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them, while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the continent of this habitable earth;" (or in other words, an island like a sort of continent, just as we might now say of *New Holland*.)

And then Agrippa intimates, that yet, at that time, only four legions were sufficient to guard such an acquisition.

Again, speaking of *Vespasian*, who was, as it were, from this island led to the empire of all the world, he says, "He had also recovered to them (the Romans) *Britain* by his arms, which had been little known before: whereby he procured to his father *Claudius* to have a triumph bestowed upon him, without any sweat or labour of his own."

And it even appears that the distinction of having *Claudius* called his father, was an honour bestowed in consequence of these conquests in *Britain*; a country so newly discovered, and acquired.

Titus also, when persuading the Jews to surrender, admonished them to consider, what greater obstacle to the Roman arms there could be, than the walls of the ocean with which the Britons are encompassed? ‡

* Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. v. cap. 4. sec. 2.

† Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 16. sec. 4.

‡ Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 6. sec. 2.

Who would leave, willingly, the comfortable English mansion of a private gentleman, for the dull castle of a Norman Baron; the den of a Saxon Thane, even when settled in peace; or the gloomy wood of a British Chief?

Or who would exchange the advantages, which the very lowest class of the industrious and active poor enjoy in this country, (even amidst our worst mistakes and errors), for the naked, starving, licentious condition of a savage Briton? or for the bitter servitude and bondage of a Saxon slave? or for the situation of a Norman Villein, *regardant*, or *in gross* (the original Gentleman Copyholder); who, notwithstanding his fancied possession of landed property (the only property then in the kingdom), might be conveyed, in the one instance, as part of the stock on the land, by deed of conveyance, from one lord of a manor to another; and in the other instance, might even be granted, as an individual, by deed, to whomsoever his haughty chieftain pleased.* Whilst, in both instances, if lands were given by any friend, or distant relative, in fee, to such villein (or copyholder), his lord paramount alone would be entitled to the possession.

It is worth our while, then, amidst the many various investigations, concerning the progress of arts, and of human knowledge, that employ our minds, to bestow some inquiry *how*, and by *what gradual steps, and means*, such progressive alteration of manners, and of the modes of life has taken place, as has occasioned so great a change in the condition of mankind.

* See Coke, Littelton, p. 120. b. And to this great authority, I must add, that it appears from a most curious book, written on parchment, by the direction of Sir William Gryffyth (Chamberlain of North Wales), who preserved the valuable records of that country from perishing, by means of that collection of them which he so made;† that all the natives of a certain township, in Wales, many years after the time of the petty British princes, were sold as *part of the estate* of those lands they belonged unto.

It deserves also to be added, that Rowland ‡ tells us he had, in his own possession, a copy of an injunction, issued out even so late as by Henry VII.; commanding Escheators, and all other ministerial officers, to see that the king's *native tenants* kept within their common limits; and, if any of them were found to stray and wander from their houses, to drive them back, *like beasts to their pinfolds, with the greatest severity*.

† Mona Antiqua, p. 119.

‡ Ibid. 120.

A trite old proverb admonishes the inconsiderate, that, *one half of the world knows not how the other lives*: and it is still more true, and deserves attention; that those who live in one age of the world, have too little apprehension of the mode in which preceding ages have been passed by such as had their lot therein.

Yet perhaps in all countries, the progression may really be discerned to have been almost uniformly by somewhat the same steps; and from similar causes.

Savage stupidity, first gives place, and yields dominion to brutal ferocity. Brutal ferocity, then yields to brutal fierceness disciplined. This latter, at last, yields to Civilization, and the light of Truth. And when once Civilization, and any knowledge of God, has at all taken place; the advance of science, and the progress of arts, would soon raise the state of human society, in any country, to an high degree of prosperity; if there were but a due maintenance of *well regulated* principles of religion, and morality.

But alas! there, the progress is in every successive period too soon, for a time checked. The whole is too, too soon sadly counteracted, by selfish views; and by violent misguided passions.

And the combination of these last, continued banes of the human soul, produce such dire effects, from age to age, as to give us but little opportunity of carrying the speculations upon the advance of civil improvements, in any period of time, any further; than in each age to contemplate, with horror, the continued struggling efforts of true religious principle, and ardent zeal for public good; of science, and of industry; against the opposition of hypocrisy, the delusions of idolatry, superstition, selfish interest, vile lusts, passion, ignorance, and obstinate insensibility.

Amidst all those sundry, gradual, and almost imperceptible operating causes which have prepared the human mind to be open to the reception of improving knowledge; and which are the objects of the inquiry now proposed; but which have not perhaps, hitherto been sought after with the attention they deserve; the strange, varied, and sometimes detorted, progress of architecture, in its very various branches, surely forms one, that unquestionably ought not to be deemed either last, or least.

The improvements of Architecture, indeed, seem ever to have

been, above all others, the most *characteristic* marks of *improving civilization*: and at the same time, to have themselves contributed, more than ought else, to the promoting of it.

More, I may almost venture to say, than even the knowledge of letters; and the arts of writing, and of printing.

For the improvements of Architecture continually open new scenes to the imagination even of the most unlettered: and by causing them to feel themselves in a new situation, rouses their minds to new pursuits. And even with regard to retrospective view; whilst the exercise of the pen has been gradually called forth, to record any of the circumstances that gave occasion to the raising of the fabrics which were the manifestations of this art, the Fabrics themselves have continued to inform the world yet more fully: and still remain, as it were, speaking from age to age. Many of them relating a most interesting tale, long preceding, in its date, our first knowledge either of reading, or of writing.

A tale, that *will* be heard. For even that disgraceful *modern barbarity* (more inexcusable than that of the *antient savages*), arising from blundering stupid selfishness, and ignorance; which is continually demolishing the most interesting remains of high antiquity; cannot entirely hide from our eyes, those so legible characters, which still, in many instances continue, as *written in stone with an iron tool*; constantly declaring the vast efforts, which past generations made, in the midst of all their errors, to emerge from a state of sordid wildness. Whilst even the altars of idolatrous abominations, which deserved to be destroyed, still retain marks sufficient to inform us what sort of dire corruptions had taken place.

Surely then, it is worth our while, as one of the first steps towards a right comprehension of the progressive improvement of the state of mankind, to trace, as far as we are able, before they are more effectually destroyed, and before they utterly perish, the remaining indications of the slow gradual improvements of Architecture in this country; and to watch how changes of manners, and of laws, and of improvements in science, and in other arts accompanied them.

The examination of what remains in our own country, and the consideration of its gradual improvements in all these particular respects; is indeed what belongs most peculiarly to ourselves; and

demands the most properly our first attention. But the modes by which several other civilized nations, have at various periods, in all ages, arrived to such advantages as they obtained; are so exceedingly similar to, and so much connected with what has passed on this spot which we inhabit; that in carrying on the inquiry which relates to ourselves, we cannot but unavoidably find much light flung upon the history of the whole world; and upon several curious details in the antient records of many other regions. Records, which though continually perused by the learned, have too often, for want of the illustration that might have been derived from such sort of inquiries, been much misunderstood.

What kind of poor savages dwelt in this island, in some of the very early ages of the world; in the days of Moses, or of Solomon; or of Numa; or Nebuchadnezzar, or Cyrus, or Darius; (if this island had at that time any inhabitants at all besides the wild beasts of the forest); is perhaps of as little import to us now, as it is to know who the poor beings were who dwelt in New Holland, during the last three centuries.

Herodotus, who has so often, by persons wanting candour, been deemed too credulous; was with regard to this matter only too incredulous. For at the same time that he gravely tells us, * "he could not forbear laughter, when he considered how some men described the circumference of the earth, *without any kind of judgment*, "pretending that the ocean surrounds the whole, and that the earth *is made round, as if it came out of a turner's lathe*; and that Europe is equal in extent to Asia;" he says also, † "Neither can I assent to those, who tell us of a river, by the barbarians called Eridanus, which they say furnishes amber, *and runs northward into the sea*. "Neither do I know any thing of the islands called *Cassiterides*, from the *tin* which is thence imported among us. And though I have diligently inquired, yet I have never seen any man, who by his own experience could inform me, concerning the nature of that sea, which bounds the extremities of Europe. However it is certain that *amber*, and *tin* come from the remotest parts."

We may therefore, from these words conclude, that whatever

* Herodotus, ed. Wesselingi, lib. iv. 36—p. 297. † Ibid. lib. iii. 115—p. 254.

inhabitants there were of Britain, in the days of Herodotus, they were still in a state of such *utter barbarity*, as to be almost entirely unnoticed by the then civilized part of mankind. And we well know they continued in a very barbarous state, even down to the time of Cæsar, and Tacitus.

But although this venerable father of history, who dwelt amidst the first dawn of science in Greece, *could not believe the earth to be spherical*; and candidly confessed his ignorance of the geography of this part of the world; and of *the existence of any inhabitants in any such island as THIS*; yet what he says concerning *tin*, is a clear proof against his own doubts; and a proof that the coasts of Cornwall had been visited, previous to that time, by the Phœnicians; for there was no other part of the world then discovered, from whence that metal could be had.

We shall find reason to conclude, in the course of our inquiries, that we even still have remains of architecture in being, that were not only long prior to the time of the Roman invasion; but most probably prior to the days of Herodotus.

The remains I mean, are those called Druidical. With the examination of which therefore, together with the consideration of the traces of British Strongholds, it will be necessary to begin these Observations.

Wherever any such exist in this island; their vast antiquity must needs render any means of elucidation of their history no less interesting to us, than the history of the Pyramids of Egypt has been, for so many ages, to all the world. And though, in the one instance, as well as in the other, perhaps no full information concerning their *original* construction, is to be expected from any positive records of history; yet we shall find the remains may speak with sufficient clearness for themselves, on a careful comparison of them with one another; with the antient remains of other countries; and with the usages of the very earliest ages of the world, as described in the oldest writings, and from the first traditions of mankind.

Several of them indeed must, as individual specimens, still continue subject to the having much doubt formed in our minds, concerning their precise original destination, and use; both on account

of their present mutilated state, and because of the great simplicity, and rudeness of the original design at best: but enough concerning them will become perfectly intelligible, in consequence of such a comparison, to explain to us, what many of these antient works, of such immense labour, were really intended for, when first constructed:—and how many different kinds there were of them: to some one or other of which, those mutilated fragments (whose more particular history must still continue in some obscurity) did yet doubtless originally belong.

Whoever the people were, who first passed over from the Continent to this Island, we may be well assured they had been previously connected with some of the first inhabitants of the more civilized parts of the earth; as they must have passed over in artificial vessels of some construction or other. And therefore we may well expect to find, in some of their strongholds, and works of rude architecture, a connection with modes of defence, usages, rites, and ceremonies, practised in other parts more early inhabited in the very *first* ages of the world.

And as this resemblance will indeed soon strike a contemplative mind, in the strongest manner; so the continued illustration of the history of the remains which we behold in our own country, by means of the accounts of such transactions as passed in similar fortresses, and in the use of similar structures in other countries, (in those times of the highest antiquity, which are the subjects of the first dawnings of history), will supply the defect of actual records concerning the achievements of the first British inhabitants. Achievements that, except for the sake of explaining these curious remains, could not be at all interesting; nor of much more concern to us, than the fights of kites and crows,* as Milton most justly observed concerning the Saxon achievements, in the time of the Heptarchy.

The history of almost all aboriginal nations may be comprehended in very few words; like the account given in Scripture of the first inhabitants of Idumea.+ Merely that persons of a certain

* Kennet's Collection of Historical Facts, Vol. I. p. 50. Hume's History, Vol. I. p. 20.

+ Deuteronomy, chap. ii. v. 10, 11, 12. v. 20, 21, 22, 23.

name dwelt there; fierce, strong, contentious, destroying, and perhaps deserving to be destroyed.

But, amidst all these disadvantages, the human mind would unavoidably make some exertions; in consequence of which appeared surprising works of defence; and also other as surprising works, the effects of blind superstition, and of immense labour.

These efforts alone have produced all that it is now of any concern for us to know, with regard to any aboriginal people; or with regard to the aboriginal Britons.

It is the observation of one of the most diligent and laborious searchers after British antiquities, (the ingenious, and learned Rowland,*) that the works, and employments, of the first colonizers of any country, and especially of an island, (which could have been inhabited only subsequent to the occupation of the adjacent continent) must have been merely those of hewing down the woods, and of hunting; to which we may add that of fishing. And that such first inhabitants could not have had either time, or inclination, to form any very fixed habitations.

With regard to our own country then, we may begin with remarking, that as far as the Romans knew any thing of them, it was not till the time of Agricola, that the Britons were persuaded to live at all in a social, and comfortable manner; to build convenient and tolerably commodious stationary dwellings, contiguous to each other; to form regular towns; or to attempt to adorn them, with such structures as halls, and temples.†

And we find that in the more remote parts, where civilization arrived so many ages later; in the Highlands, and most northerly parts of Scotland; there was not, in the time of Ptolemy,‡ in the middle of the second century, so much as one British town among nine nations.

As to the particular *private abodes*, therefore, even of the most considerable chieftains of the Britons, they must unavoidably have been dwellings nearly resembling rude tents, and hovels; easily removeable; and incapable of leaving any very durable remains

* *Mona Antiqua*, p. 20—27. † Tacitus, *Vita Agricolæ*, C. 21.

‡ See his *Geographical Account*, and compare the different parts of it.

behind them. And the huts of the people in general must have been chiefly of such kinds, as we now meet with amongst various barbarous and uncivilized nations, in the most remote parts of the globe. Small hovels, formed of loose stones, with sticks, and boughs; and covered with grass, or reeds; nearly like those described by many of our navigators, and travellers, in the South Sea islands; in Africa; and in America.

Perhaps then, it will not be a degradation of the idea to be formed, concerning the aboriginal private dwellings in this island, if we venture to compare the cabbins of the first migrators, and hunters here, with such as are still used by the poorer wandering inhabitants of the mountainous, and of the yet most uncultivated parts of it.

The curious Mr. Cordiner* thus describes one, that he met with in the northern parts of Scotland:

"In Dirry-more forest, on passing through this level tract, numerous herds of cattle came in view. Near to one of the grassy fields where they were feeding was reared the keeper's booth; the most wretched hovel imaginable. With difficulty we crawled into it, and one could not stand upright when within. Yet here, was straw for a bed; a bottle of milk; and some pieces of bread. *It is possible* men may be contented with such spare accommodation; with such hard and scanty fare. I strove in that cot to find shelter from an heavy rain; but soon found such confinement seem worse than an open exposure to the severest weather."

The range of ravenous beasts in the lower woods and valleys, made *those* spots originally dangerous to dwell in, and only fit for the scenes, and employments of hunting. And the hills alone, at first, were the only fit places even for any abodes at all.† Here, therefore, both in Wales,‡ and in the island of Anglesey,|| and in Scotland; and elsewhere in our own country, where they have had the possibility of being left undisturbed by subsequent cultivation, are to be met with remains and traces of the most antient dwellings of the first people.

* Antiquities of Scotland, p. 111.

† Mona Antiqua, p. 25.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 306.

|| Mona Antiqua, p. 27.

These, as far as they are now capable of minute examination, are found to have been mere clusters of little round, or oval foundations of stone; on which were erected small structures, with conical roofs or coverings, which formed the very circumscribed dwellings, and rude hovels, of the first settlers in Britain.

In places of great natural strength and safety, or of much convenience in point of peculiar situation, it is easy to conceive they most abounded.

And in some of these, in the more inaccessible mountains, although they continued to be, from age to age, sometimes the abodes of soldiers, as being fortresses of great natural strength; yet the original foundations and walls of such poor original little hovels do still remain; not having been subject, in consequence of their peculiar situation, to be eradicated, either by the magnificence, or necessities of succeeding generations; who could have no inducement to destroy such poor vestiges of pristine security, for the sake of the materials.

But, besides these, some clusters of antient dwellings were, by degrees, constructed in deep woods, and morasses; and near rivers; in such parts, even of the Lowlands, as were fittest for security: and such became afterwards, in many instances, great Cities: some in the times of the Romans; and others in the times of the Saxons.

Amongst these Lowland clusters of huts, or *bods*, we may justly deem one to have been even the first origin of *London*: whose early existence, as a place of habitation, in some state or other, for the first aboriginal inhabitants, was thought, by the curious author of the *Parentalia*,* to be sufficiently ascertained, both from the British name; and also from the different kinds of interment, discovered in distinct successive strata, one beneath another, on digging the foundations of St. Paul's Cathedral; from whence it clearly appeared a greater number of Britons must have at the same time dwelt together with the Romans, than could have been supposed to have inhabited there, if it had been merely in its origin a Roman colony.

They first found, deep under the graves of the later ages, and in a row (or stratum) below them, the burial places of the Saxon times:

* *Parentalia*, p. 264.

where the graves were either lined with chalk, or stone; and some had stone coffins. And again below these, were discovered Roman urns, and many British graves: in the latter of which were found numbers of ivory pins; and pins of an hard wood, seemingly box, about six inches long.*

With regard to these last kinds of Lowland towns, and fortresses; the traces of which, as to their precise form, (like the traces of many of those on the mountains), and the figure of their huts, must now unavoidably be almost entirely destroyed; we may yet learn, from Cæsar's description of one of the most considerable of them, what kind of places they were.

Speaking of that which was the capital of Cassivellaunus, where a vast multitude of men, and of cattle, were cooped up together, he says, † "The Britons call a place a town, when they have fortified thick impassable woods, by means of a vallum and fosse;" (in other words, by means of an high bank, and a ditch): "in which sort of place they are accustomed to get together, to avoid the invasion of enemies."

And indeed we have one spot remaining even to this very hour, which notwithstanding all the alterations that have been made, of boundary lines passing through it, and of roads cut through it, yet in reality so completely answers this description, when its original situation is duly considered, and its still woodland state; that we can scarcely doubt of its having been truly a Lowland British town; the nearest, of any connected with that which at last became London. And this is the well known old intrenchment, near Copt-hall in Essex; called *Ambresbury-banks*. It is nearly of an oval form, ‡ and contains an area of about twelve acres.

The word used for the first kind of houses that could possibly exist in these sort of towns; that is for the huts the Britons constructed; it plainly appears was merely, *booth*, or *bod*.|| And even their best towns we find were clearly understood to be universally, mere assemblages of such huts.

* Parentalia, p. 266. † De Bello Gallico. lib. v. sec. 17.

‡ A Plan and Description of it may be seen in Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 49, and Pl. I. fig. 4.

|| Whitaker's Manchester, V. II. p. 263.

After all the best inquiry that Strabo could make, "The woods (he says*) are their towns. For having fenced round a wide circular space, with trees hewn down, *there* they place their huts (*καλυψοιοιονται*), and fix stalls for their cattle; but not of long duration."

And speaking in another place† of the Gauls, whose customs and manners were so similar to those of the Britons, and which therefore, to avoid repetition, he often describes as having a reference to them, he says,

"They have dwellings, of a round form, constructed of poles, and wattled work; with very high pointed coverings, of beams united at a point."

Thus also Diodorus Siculus, mentioning more precisely the habitations of the Britons themselves; tells us, "they have very poor wretched dwellings, composed for the most part of reeds, (or straw), and wood.‡" From whence we may conclude that, though of the same form, they were in general of still less dimensions, and of less nice construction than those of the Gauls.

In short, that they were little round hovels, formed of poles united to a point at the top, and covered with reeds or straw, placed upon low circular walls, or banks, of rough stones, or earth.

Entirely consistent with all these descriptions, is the appearance of those remains which Rowland met with in Anglesey; and so justly apprehended to be vestiges of the abodes of the aboriginal inhabitants.

"I have oft observed, (he tells us||) in many places in this island, and in other countries, clusters of little round, and oval foundations; whose very irregularities speak their antiquity. On the hills near Porthæthwy there are prodigious plenty of them; and upon some heaths. The very make and figure, and other circumstances of these rude misshapen holds, seem to indicate that they were the retreating places of those first people (who migrated here), when they began the work of clearing, and opening

* Strabo. lib. iv. p. 200, of the Paris ed. p. 306, of the Amsterdam ed.

† Strabo. 197, p. 301.

‡ Diodorus Siculus. lib. v. 209, or p. 347, ed. Wess.

|| Mona Antiqua, p. 25, 26, 27.

“ the country ;—very necessity obliging those people then, as custom does some to this day, to choose such moveable abodes :—
 “ and no one can well deny these to have been little *dwelling*s, and
 “ houses.”

And even in lower situations, in some instances ; and particularly, on a piece of ground called Trev-wry, near the river Breint, he tells us there are a great many such circular stone foundations.*

Hence, therefore, we may obtain even something more than an imperfect idea, of the common dwellings of the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain, in the earliest ages.

But notwithstanding it be true, that the first settlers could have leisure only for the construction of such rude habitations ; and for the exercise of as rude occupations : yet when they were once well established, we may be assured they would form some important, and lasting places of defence ; and also establish some monuments of their religion, customs, and superstitions.

And here we shall begin to have an ample field for satisfactory inquiry ; and a means of obtaining a very considerable illustration of all antient history : at the same time that we endeavour, in the fairest manner, to discover the first dawnings of Architecture, both military, and religious, in this island.

At first sight, the appearance of the scattered remains of Druidical superstition, and of British works, only produces a succession of confused ideas in the mind ; and they are even liable to be confounded with the works of later ages : whence some writers have been led into great mistakes concerning them. But on a careful assortment of their different kinds, and on a careful comparison of those of each class, in different and remote parts, one with another, this difficult knot of the clue, leading to the discovery of truth, gives way ; and we may plainly discern, that British, and Druidical monuments, are all to be arranged under the description of the following different kinds, viz.

1. British posts ; or Strongholds : together with Caves, and hiding places.
2. Stones of memorial.

* *Mona Antiqua*, p. 88.

3. Circles of memorial; of Observance; and of Observation.
4. Sacred circles, with Altars of oblation.
5. Altars for sacrifice, and divination.
6. Kistvaens; or tombs.
7. Barrows, and cairns.
8. Logans; or Rocking stones.
9. Tolmen; and Bason stones.

And these different kinds will well deserve to be investigated, as far as we are able, in regular order.

But notwithstanding it be true, that the first settlers could have leisure only for the construction of such rude habitations; and for the exercise of such rude occupations: yet when they were once well established, we may be assured they would form some important and lasting places of defence; and also establish some monuments of their religion, customs, and superstitions.

And therefore still begin to have an ample field for satisfactory inquiry; and a means of obtaining a very considerable illustration of all ancient history: at the same time that we endeavour, in the latest manner, to discover the first drawings of Architecture, both military, and religious, in this island.

At first sight, the appearance of the scattered remains of Druidical superstition, and of British works, only produces a sensation of confused ideas in the mind; and they are even liable to be confounded with the works of later ages: whence some writers have been led into great mistakes concerning them. But on a careful examination of their different kinds, and on a careful comparison of those of each class, in different and remote parts, one with another, this difficult knot of the chaos, leading to the discovery of truth, gives way; and we may plainly discern that British, and Druidical monuments, are all to be arranged under the description of the following different kinds, viz.

1. British houses, or boroughs: together with Caves, and hiding places.

2. Stones of memorial.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING ABORIGINAL BRITISH FORTRESSES; AND HILL FORTRESSES
IN GENERAL. AND CONCERNING CAVES, AND HIDING PLACES.

THERE are a vast number of strong Intrenchments in all parts of this island, of a very peculiar kind: situated chiefly on the tops of *natural hills*; and which can be attributed to none of the various different people who have ever dwelt in the adjacent country, except to the antient Britons; although indeed the subsequent conquerors, Romans, Saxons, and Danes, and even the Normans, have, on certain emergencies, made use of them at different times; on account of their great original strength: and although the erroneous hasty conjectures of persons ill informed, for want of more experience, and even the crude reports of the country, have often called them Roman camps; Danish forts; or Saxon intrenchments.

They could not be originally of Roman construction; because we well know, that wheresoever the Romans certainly did form any camps, and stations, either in this island, or abroad, they always were of a very different sort.

They could not be Danish; both because they do not resemble such as we assuredly know to have been constructed by those marauders, in their invasions: and because those pirates would neither in their ravages, venture so far inland as several of these works are found to be; nor stay to undertake the excessive labour of raising them, on such high hills and mountains as they are often placed; nor run the risk of being cooped up, and starved there, when they had done so.

And as they were not the works of those people during their state of piracy; so neither can they be deemed to have been fortresses designed by them, when they had obtained an establishment here.

For the great Castle built by Canute at Norwich; the Great

Tower at Bury; and other works of theirs; shew that they had *then* arrived at such a state of improvement in point of civilization, and of architectural skill, as to fortify themselves in cities, and within strong walls: when they did not use merely temporary camps; and not to be driven to the shift of contriving such places as these, for stationary defence.

Neither could these intrenchments have been originally the works of the Saxons.

For, even during the Heptarchy, we shall find fortresses of *stone* were erected; and are still subsisting; of a far different sort. And the remains of Architecture of the ages of Edgar, and Alfred; and the latter's well known complaint of *there being few Castles in England*; together with the specimen of the Great Castle of his son Edward the Elder at Colchester; and their strong cities mentioned in history; shew that they had far different ideas of security, and of protecting themselves against invaders, than would correspond with a dependance on the forming these kind of retreats.

Besides, indeed, we shall find several instances, in the sequel; where their mere earthworks, when for temporary convenience they did ever construct such, were encampments on plain ground; with *double ditches*; and with either the whole, or at least part of the area *raised above the level of the adjacent country*; and sometimes with a very small mount for watch guard. And quite different from those either of the Danes, or Normans.

And as to the Normans themselves; their magnificence; and the great Castles still remaining, which they constructed, in different periods; puts it quite out of the question to allow even the least conjecture of *their* having had any share in casting up the works of these retreats, and intrenchments; which are most properly the first objects of our attention.

They must therefore have been the strong posts, and fastnesses, of the antient Britons, the first settlers in this island. Where they lodged their wives, and their children, on account of any sudden war or invasion; and to which they drove their cattle, at the same time, from the low adjacent country. Here they formed garrisons; and made their stand; and from hence they sallied forth, with confidence, to repel the foe.

And that such were by these people, first devised and fortified for this use, appears most evidently from the account given of British fortresses by *Tacitus*. For describing the strongholds formed, and resorted to by *Caractacus*, he says,*

Tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa præstruit.

Which we may very well translate; “*Then they fortified themselves on steep mountains; and wherever there was any possibility of access in any part, he constructed a great bank of stones, like a vallum.*”

Mr. Pennant instantly saw so strongly the exact conformity of this description, with one of these sort of intrenchments still remaining on a mountain hanging over the vale of Nannerch, in Flintshire, in North Wales; and called *Moel Arthur*; that he could not forbear immediately to apply it; and to form the right conclusion concerning these hill fortifications.+

Moel Arthur, is on one of the high summits of the mountain; a smooth terrace being levelled on the top of all, and having, on the only accessible side, where there are not precipices, two ditches of prodigious depth, with suitable dikes.

Many others of these fortresses are rendered defensible exactly in the same manner: but there are sometimes more deep ditches; and high banks, formed either of earth or loose stones: and there are sometimes only one; though more often two entrances.

They were indeed such as might well defy an enemy: as similar ones often did, in various other countries, even from the time of *Alexander the Great*, (as related by *Quintus Curtius*, ‡) down to the time of *Agricola*.

But their situation being so high that they could have no supply of water, except from the clouds, they were often liable to be untenable for a long season, from that very circumstance alone; though their situations amongst hills, subject to much wet, gave the defenders of them a better chance in this respect, than they could have had in other places.

One of the most important, and most considerable of these fastnesses, in our country; is situated on a spot, that could not but be

* *Annalium*, lib. xii. sect. 33.

+ *Tour in Wales*, p. 412.

‡ *Quintus Curtius*, lib. vii. c. 11.

an object of the utmost attention to the original inhabitants of those territories, which afterwards were deemed distinctly England, and Wales, from the very division here formed.

It is on the summit of one of the highest of the Malvern ridge of hills; and is now known by the name of the Herefordshire Beacon; commanding that which was once the *only* pass through them, from the one side to the other; and which indeed is very nearly so to the present hour.

This has sometimes been called, without the least proof or reason to form any such conclusion, a *Roman camp*. It has also been called a *Danish camp*; with still less ground for any such conclusion. It has been talked of as being *Saxon*. And, because the tradition of the country still preserves the curious memorial of the fact, that Owen Glendour, or *Glyndwr*, made use of it as one of the fastnesses, to which he resorted in his distresses, (as he did to several of this sort,*) it has been sometimes idly supposed, to be one of his works.

But the construction of the whole stronghold, shews it to have been formed for a more important use than he, and his refugees, could ever make of it.

Its extent is so great, as to shew it was designed for the security of an whole adjacent country, on any emergency.

And the access to its summit is to this day so exceeding difficult; that, almost for that reason alone, it has been so seldom accurately surveyed.

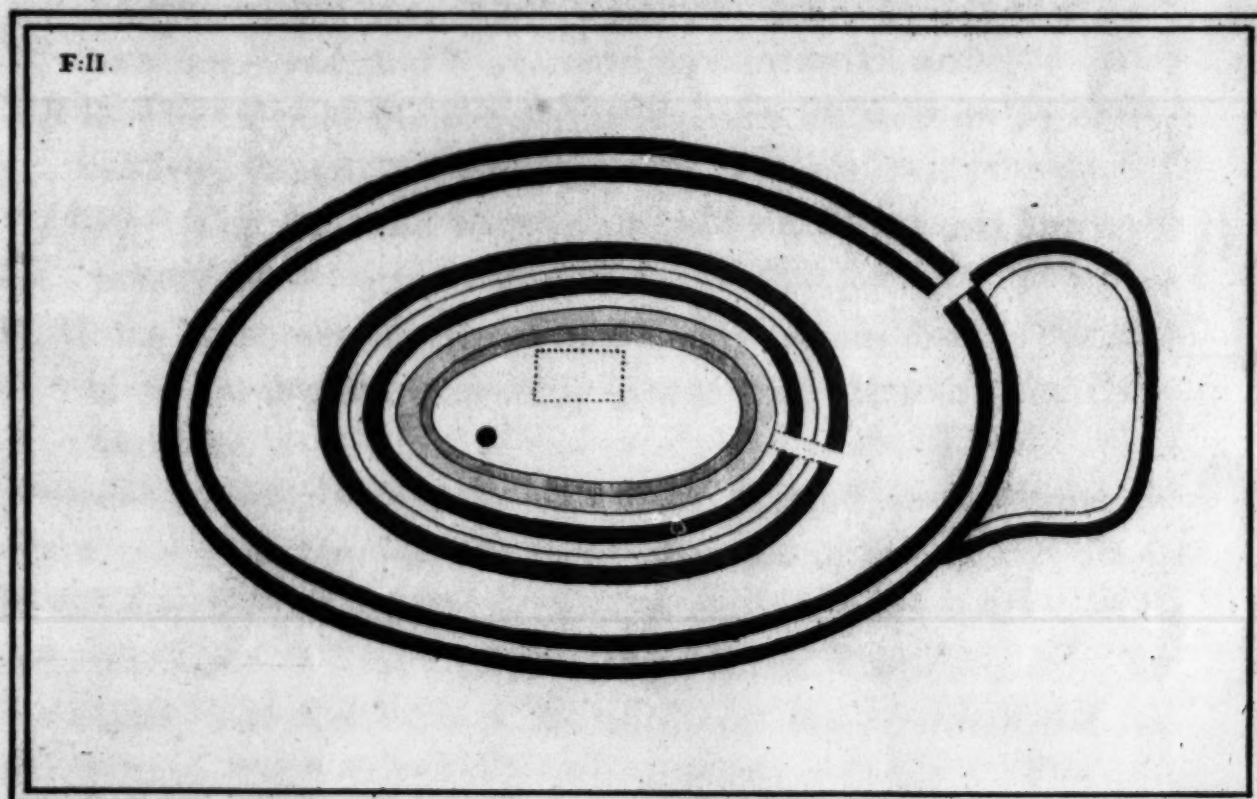
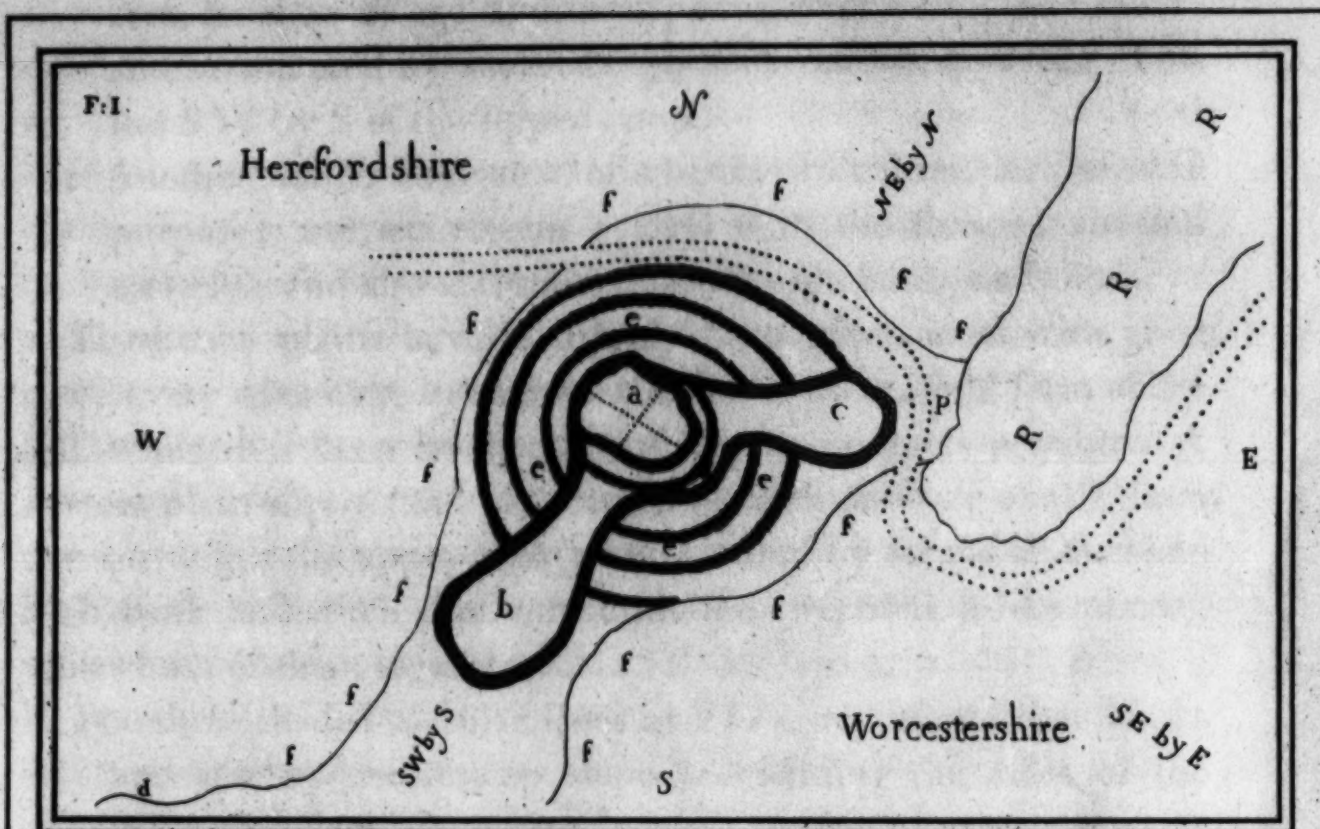
A view of its appearance on the NE side, is placed as a Frontispiece to this Book.

Pl. I. fig. 1. Is a plan of the roots, or foundation of the mountain; and of the several works formed on its sides and summit.

a Is the area of the camp; on the very highest part. An irregular oblong, of 175 feet in its longest diameter; and 110 in its shortest; surrounded by an high steep vallum (or bank) of stones and earth, now covered with turf; and by a very deep ditch on the outside.

b An exceeding large outwork adjoining; situated much lower

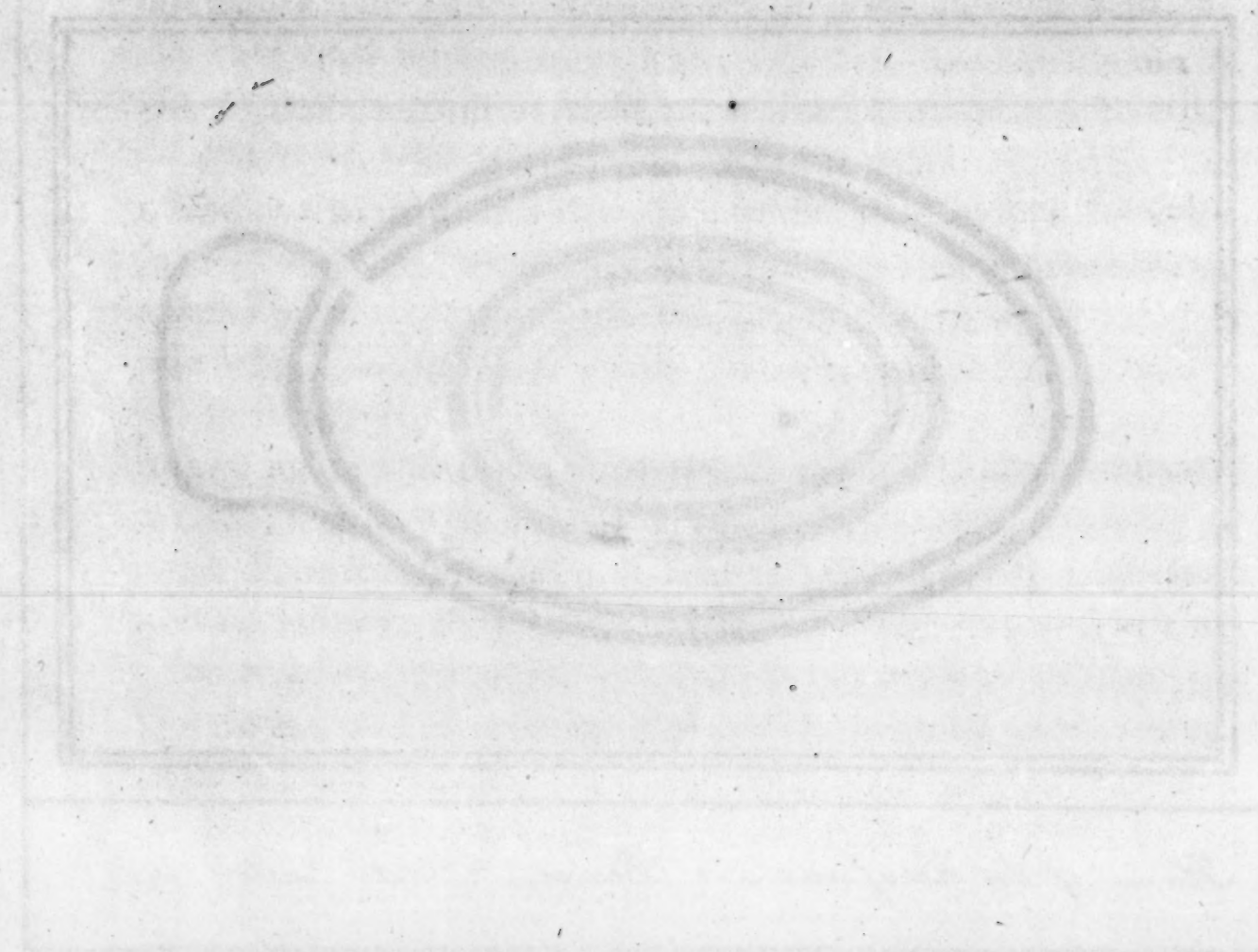
* Of his being confined to fastnesses on hills; see Pennant's account of this Chieftain, in his Tour in Wales; p. 359.



Plans of the Herefordshire Beacon, & White Catter-thun.

E. K. del. F. I.

G. Richardson, & Son, Sculp.



down; resembling a sort of bastion: and containing a large area, for the stowage, and even pasturage of horses, and cattle; and surrounded by another high bank, and deep ditch. This lies S W by S of the upper camp.

c Another similar large area, of a bastion-like form, for the same purpose; and exactly on a level with the former; situated easterly; and also surrounded by an high bank, and ditch.

These two plains have manifestly been constructed with great care; every advantage having been taken of the natural form of the hill, which has been levelled, in this part, as far as possible. A narrow plain slip of land (*d*), formed beneath one side of the ditch that surrounds the upper camp; and secured by means of the same high bank and ditch that surrounds the two bastion-like plains; unites both of them together.

The three shaded circular lines at *eeee*, represent other banks and ditches, with steep slopes; defending the sides of the mountain, from all access.

P Shews the old pass into Herefordshire, from Worcestershire; now improved, and converted into a turnpike road.

R R The ridge of the rest of the Malvern hills; running nearly S W by S and N E by N.

fffff The foot, and roots of the hill on which this fortress is situated.

Pl. II. fig. 1. Shews the appearance of this curious fortress; as seen at a considerable distance, in the vale beneath, in Herefordshire.

Somewhat similar to this, is a fortress at Bruff, in Staffordshire; which was visited by Mr. Pennant.* It is, as he describes it, placed on the summit of an hill, surrounded by two deep ditches, and a rampart *formed of stone*.† The area not of any regular shape, but complying with the shape of the hill; and having two of the corners *projecting naturally, and forming a species of bastions*. The only approach crept up the steep sides of the hill, and divided about midway, one branch to the right, and the other to the left.

* See his Journey from Chester, p. 47.

† i. e. Exactly agreeable to the description given by Tacitus, and before referred to.

Mr. Pennant seems to adopt too readily the ordinary ideas of the country; that this stronghold was cast up by Kinred king of Mercia, against Osred king of the Northumbrians: but consistently with his own judicious observations in other places; as well as from the precise form of its construction; it seems to have been of more antient date; and truly an original British fortress.

We have more of the same kind, distinguished and taken notice of by this curious traveller, and especially in his own country, than by any other writer. And the enumerating some of the most distinguished of them, will perhaps help greatly to confirm the distinction of these truly original strongholds, from those of subsequent ages.

Not far from Northop in Flintshire, a fortress of this kind, called *Moel y Gaer*, soars high above the road, on the summit of an hill. It has a great fosse, and dike of a circular form; and a small artificial mount within.*

On an hill not far from the Castle of Montgomery (and therefore most certainly utterly needless, unless it had been long prior to the erection of that castle), is another fortress; a stupendous British post; guarded by four great ditches; besides two or three other fosses across the hill, where it is least steep.†

And still another is distinguished by the name of *Caer Caradoc*,‡ near *Longnor*, in Shropshire; having the first ditch and rampart, in a part of the hill, where, from the exceeding steepness, they seemed even totally unnecessary; (which by the way is also the case with some of the ramparts on the side of the Herefordshire beacon;) and a little higher, a second ditch, with a vast agger of stones, now sodded over: the area at the top being irregular, as usual, and of pretty considerable extent.

Mr. Pennant was sufficiently convinced, that notwithstanding the near resemblance of its name, *this* was not the place where Caractacus was attacked by Ostorius; but was at a loss *where* to ascertain that spot; because of what is said of *the adjoining river*, by Tacitus. In the additions to Camden, || however, the Editor seems to have cleared

* Tour in Wales, p. 83.

† Ibid. Part II. p. 372.

‡ Ibid. p. 421.

|| Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 404. Where is also added a rough sketch from Dugdale's Visitation of Shropshire.

up this matter very well; having shewn, that the true *Caer Caradoc*, which, if not the royal seat of Caractacus, seems to have been at least his fortress, during the war with the Romans, was in Shropshire, two miles south of Clun, and three from Coxal. Being a large camp; three times as long as it is broad; on the point of an hill; accessible only one way; and defended on the north side by very deep double ditches, in the solid rock. Whilst on the east, the steepness of the ground renders it impregnable. And on the south it has only one ditch, for the same reason. And the principal entrance is on the west side; fenced with double works: whilst to the south-west it is even fenced with treble works. We have here therefore another instance of the true British style of fortifying.

But one of the most extraordinary of all these kind of fortresses; is one that seems to have been even an established stationary residence. And in which are found *still* remains of the foundations of the most antient kind of buildings, used by the Britons.

It is situated in Caernarvonshire; and is called *Tre'r Caeri*, or the *Town of the Fortresses*.* On the accessible side it was defended by three rude walls of stones; the upper ones being lofty, about fifteen feet high, and sixteen broad; exhibiting a grand and extensive front. The space on the top is an irregular area; but the whole is filled *with cells; some round, and some oval*; (answering to those which have before been mentioned, as described by Rowland;) and some also are oblong, or square. Some of the round ones were fifteen feet in diameter. Which brings to mind the Gallic houses described by Strabo. And of those that were oblong, there was at least *one*, even thirty feet in length.

Similar to this; and even still more worthy of attention; is the celebrated fortress in Caernarvonshire, on the top of *Penmaen Mawr*; the very existence of which, on account of the difficulty of access, has been denied by some hasty, injudicious persons.

"I have more than once visited," says Mr. Pennant,+ "the summit of this noted rock, to view the fortifications described by the Editor of Camden, from some notes of that sensible old

* The plan and elevation of this antient stronghold and abode, is given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Wales*, Vol. II. p. 306. + Ibid. Vol. II. p. 306, 307.

“ Baronet Sir John Wynn of Gwedir; and have found his account
 “ very just. The ascent is laborious. After leaving the inn, and
 “ passing a considerable way amidst small trees and brush wood,
 “ I attained the bare and stony part, or the *Braich y Ddinas* (i.e. the
 “ arms of the city); which rises in form of another hill out of this
 “ promontory, the height of which from the sands has been found
 “ to be 1545 feet.

“ After climbing for some space among the loose stones, the
 “ fronts of three, if not four walls presented themselves very dis-
 “ tinctly, one above the other. In most places the facings appeared
 “ very perfect; *but all dry work*. I measured the height of one
 “ wall, which was at the time nine feet; the thickness seven feet
 “ and an half. Between these walls, in all parts, were innumerable
 “ small buildings, *mostly circular*, and regularly faced within and
 “ without; but not disposed in any certain order. These had been
 “ much higher, as is evident from the fall of stones, which lie scat-
 “ tered at their bottoms;—(Sir John Wynn supposed they had once
 “ the form of towers;)—their diameter in general is from twelve to
 “ eighteen feet; *but some were far less; not exceeding five feet*. On
 “ the small area of the top had been a group of towers or cells, like
 “ the former; one in the centre, and five others surrounding it.
 “ Three are still distinct; of the two others are only faint vestiges.
 “ There are some appearances of there having been another similar
 “ group, at present reduced to a shapeless heap of stones. And
 “ near adjoining is a well cut in the live rock, and always filled
 “ with water supplied by the rains.”

This is the substance of Mr. Pennant's description. And surely the remains of the buildings *being circular*, and some of them not exceeding *five feet in diameter within*, clearly shews that they were the foundations of antient cells, bods, or huts, and not of towers as Sir John Wynn supposed; (which surely in such an inaccessible, unfrequented place, would not have been thus thrown down and reduced; when towers, really such, have so defied every thing except undermining, and the blasts of gunpowder, in situations of constant access, and exposed to all the means of destruction.)

At the same time the surrounding walls being all dry work, shew the fortress to have been British, according to the description given

by Tacitus, of their usual mode of fortifying. And the appellation *Dinas*, or *Ddinas*, shews it to have been professedly a fixed town, or abode, according to Rowland's observation, * that the word is derived from their *Dinesu*; i. e. from men's associating and bandying together.

There is a representation of the top, and of one side of this very antient fortress in the *Archaeologia*, † which is accompanied by an ingenious memoir, wherein the author ‡ conjectures that it was a place consecrated to Druidical worship. And it is not at all improbable but that a part of the summit might be reserved for such purpose. But the manner in which the little circular foundations and remains of buildings are clustered together, plainly shew that a part also formed what its antient name imports; a town; and place of retreat. The well of water, || on this vast height, rendered it peculiarly fit for such a purpose; and the walls, though rude, and at first sight, appearing low in their dimensions, are yet quite as strong as those met with in many other hill fortresses. When the experiment of climbing up upon them is attempted to be made, it sufficiently shews how inaccessible they must have been to an enemy.

Of a similar kind is the old fortress of Carn Madryn, in Caernarvonshire; which whatever its original age was, has been noted for having been a stronghold of the sons of Owen Gwynedd; Roderick, and Malgwn, so lately as A. D. 1170. For like Owen Glendwr, who lived still some centuries later, he and his sons occupied occasionally several of the more antient strongholds; and amongst the rest, one on the top of an hill called Pen y Parc, near Cegidoc or St. George. § So true is it, that these sort of places not only were strongholds, and fortresses in the earliest British times; but were also deemed capable of being such even in much later ages.

Mr. Pennant describes Carn Madryn as being ** a lofty, rocky, insulated hill; the bottom, sides, and top of which are filled with cells, oblong, oval, or circular; once thatched or covered from the inclemency of the weather: many of them being still pretty entire.

* *Mona Antiqua*, p. 25.

+ Vol. III. p. 305. Pl. XIV. p. 352. Pl. XXIX.

‡ Governor Pownall.

|| Mentioned in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. III. p. 306.

§ *Tour in Wales*, Vol. II. p. 336.

** *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 194.

The chieftains resided on the top of the hill: the inhabitants of the adjacent country, with their cattle, in times of invasion, occupied the sides, and bottom: and the whole summit was surrounded with a wall, still visible in many places.

Of a like kind, he says, is the hill of Boduan, in Caernarvonshire, above Nefyn, covered with *similar cells*.

Some British strongholds, however, which remain pretty entire, in other respects, have yet all the traces of their small *bods* quite destroyed. Amongst which may be reckoned one little known, on the summit of a high hill, two miles nearly north-west from Brecknock, in South Wales. It is called Pen y Crug; and is of an oval figure, surrounded by three very deep and broad intrenchments. Mr. Strange + very justly observes it is one of the most curious, and best preserved remains of the kind throughout the whole principality.

On a great eminence called *Dinas*, near Llandudno, ‡ Mr. Penant informs us, is a large enclosure. The edge of the hill is surrounded with a rude wall; and within are multitudes of *small circular hollows*, about twelve feet in diameter, environed with walls, such as are found on *Tre'r Caeri*. And near this place is a *Maen Sigl* or rocking stone, a great one, whose point of contact with the ground is so small as to make it moveable with the least touch. Which antient remain, is alone the strongest proof that can be of the British origin of the neighbouring fortress; and shews, that here was also some part adjacent dedicated to religious rites; as Mr. Pownall supposed was the case at Penmaen Mawr.

The same was the case at Karnbre hill in Cornwall; so fully described by Dr. Borlase; || which still more nearly agrees even with Cæsar's description of a British town; because here was once a thick impenetrable wood.

This hill is high, and its area on the top is thick set with karns or groups of rocks; the spaces between and below which, were even in the memory of the last generation filled with a grove of oaks. Now indeed there are no trees; but the places

* Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 207.

+ Archaeologia, Vol. I. p. 297.

‡ Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 332.

|| In his Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 117.

where those trees were charred, or burnt into charcoal, are still to be seen.

The summit is divided into two unequal areas; one of which still called the *Old Castle*, is surrounded by a wall similar to what we have been describing elsewhere; and is admitted by Dr. Borlase to have been unquestionably, a fortress. And here again, near adjoining, are found several *circular foundations*; which (although Borlase calls them holy circles,*) seem plainly (at least some of them) to have been mere foundations of such kind of circular dwellings, or *bods*, as those met with in other remains of British towns, and strongholds.

And whilst we are endeavouring to illustrate the true nature of these aboriginal remains, by the examination of such as continue to preserve sufficient traces of their original construction and importance; it would be unpardonable not to mention the *Catter-thuns*, in the shire of Angus, in Scotland: which are decidedly to be reckoned amongst the most antient Caledonian strongholds; coeval with what we have been calling British posts.

They are thus described by Mr. Pennant, whose description I shall beg leave to borrow, and make use of, nearly in his own words.†

"After riding two miles on black and heathy hills, we ascended
 "one divided into two summits; the higher named the white, the
 "lower the black *Catter-thun*, from their different colours. Both are
 "Caledonian posts; and the first of most uncommon strength. It
 "is of an oval form, made of a stupendous dike of loose white
 "stones, whose convexity from the base within to that without, is
 "a hundred and twenty-two feet. On the outside a hollow made
 "by the disposition of the stones, surrounds the whole. Round the
 "base is a deep ditch, and below that about a hundred yards, are
 "vestiges of another, that went round the hill. The area within
 "the stony mound is flat; the greater axis or length of the oval is
 "four hundred and thirty-six feet; the transverse diameter, two
 "hundred. Near the east side is the foundation of a rectangular
 "building; and on most parts are the foundations of others small,

* Page 116.

† Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 157.

“and circular: all which had once their superstructures, the shelter
“of the possessors of the post. There is also a hollow, now almost
“filled with stones, the well of the place.

The other is called the *Brown* (or Black) *Catter-thun*, from the
“colour of the ramparts, which are composed only of earth. It is
“of a circular form, and consists of various concentric dikes. And
“on one side of this rises a small rill, which running down the
“hill has formed a deep gully.

“The literal translation of the word *Catter-thun* is *Camp-town*.
“And these posts are both of the same kind with that made by
“*Caractacus*, on the borders of North Wales. But the former of
“them is the most remarkable.

A representation of this aboriginal fortress in the north parts of
this island, as seen at a distance, is added in the same Plate with
that remarkable one which I have before described as existing in
the south part: See Pl. II. fig. 2.

And a plan of it is given, Pl. I. fig. 2. copied from Mr. Pennant's
very nearly; the only difference being, that this is drawn entirely
as a plan, without any shading to make it appear like a bird's eye
view.

A somewhat similar British fortress, is to be seen on the top of
an hill, near the valley of *Glen-elg* in Inverness shire. It is diked
round with stone, and in the middle is the vestige of a circular
enclosure.

And there is another, now called *Wardlaw*, in the county of
Dumfries. It is on the top of a small hill, and surrounded with
two fosses. And in a morass called *Lockermoss*, a very little dis-
tance from it, was dug up in 1736, an antient canoe, used by the
first rude inhabitants of these parts; which (like the rocking stones
before mentioned,) bears testimony to the high antiquity of these
neighbouring aboriginal strongholds; shewing that the near adja-
cent country was certainly occupied in the earliest ages.

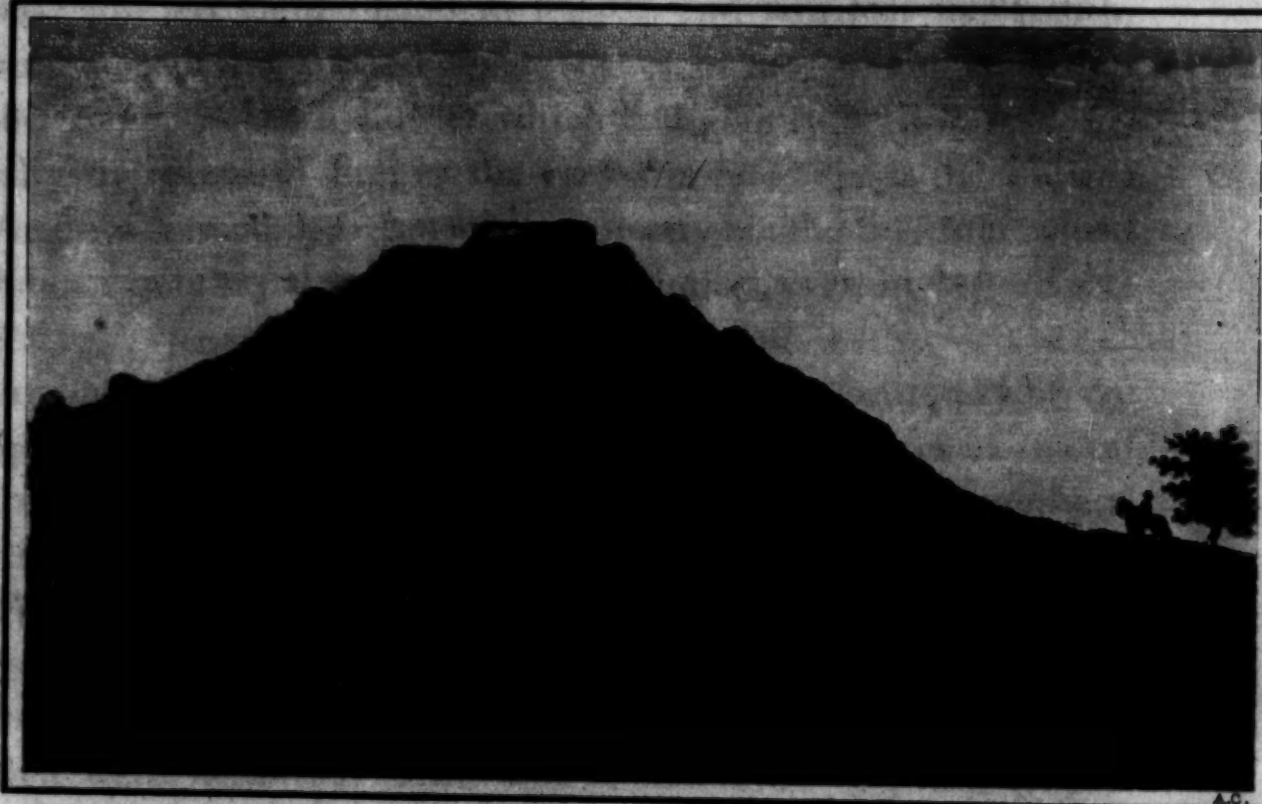
The canoe that was dug up in 1736, was seven feet long, and
dilated to a considerable breadth at one end. And its paddle was
found at the same time in the morass near to it.

* Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 336.

+ Ibid. p. 93.

F1.

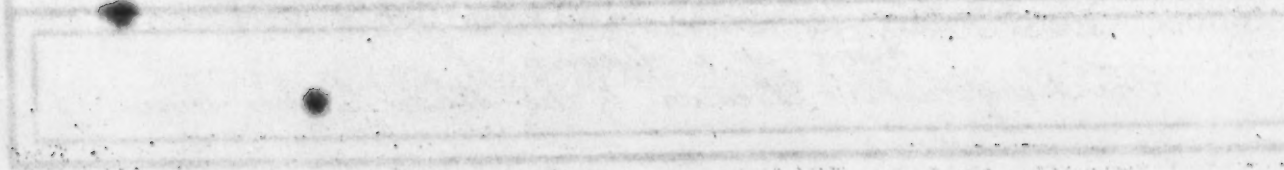
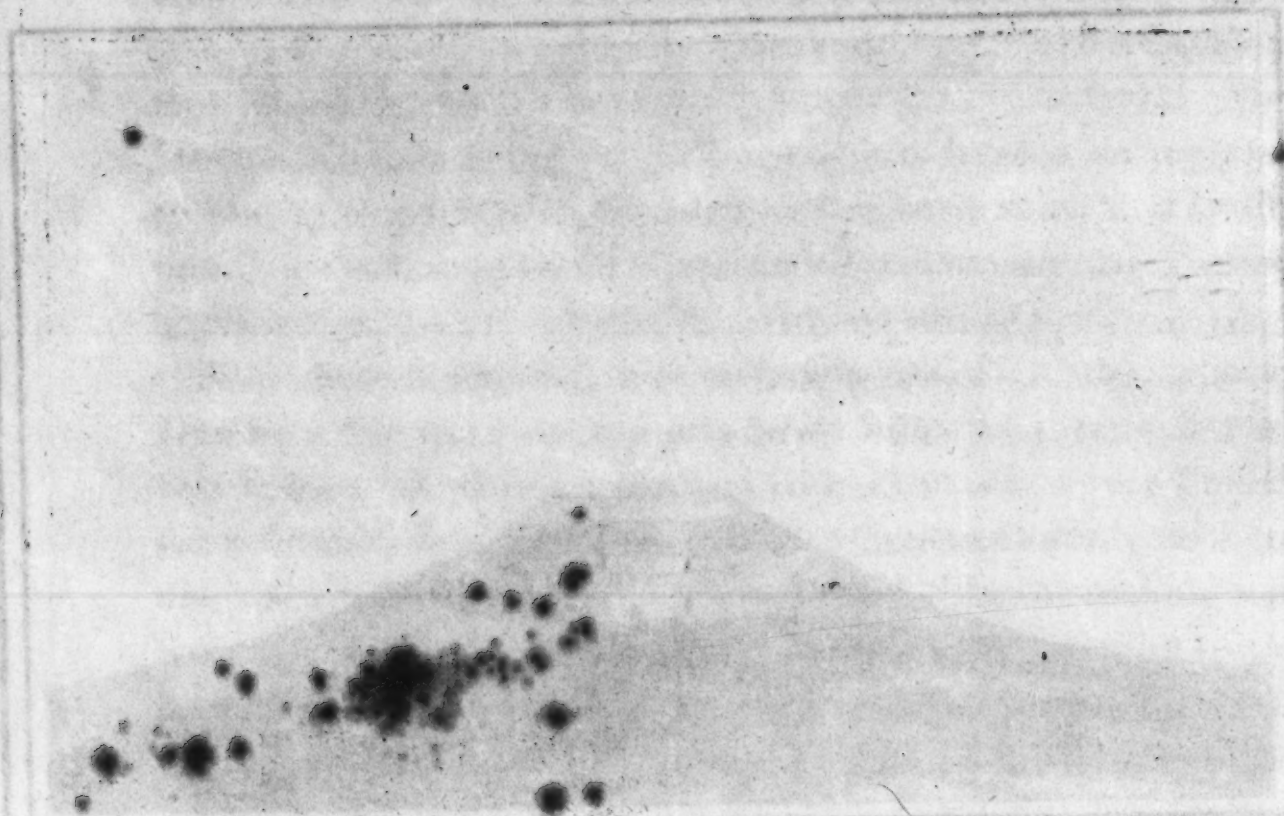
Pl. II.



F2.



*Views at a distance of
The Herefordshire Beacon, & the White Catter-thun.*



Another, hollowed out of a solid tree, and of the same kind, was seen in the same neighbourhood by Mr. Pennant, near Kilblain;* it was eight feet eight inches in length, and two feet in breadth, having a cavity of six feet seven inches in length, and of eleven inches in depth, the hollow of which had plainly been formed originally by means of fire, in the very same manner as the Indians of America formed their canoes:† so nearly are the first rude efforts of human industry almost unavoidably similar, even in very remote countries.

And as these two canoes bear testimony to the antiquity of the neighbouring fortress; so we are not without instances of coeval remains, supporting this sort of testimony, in the more southern parts of this island.

For besides others that might be mentioned; in the year 1720, there were several canoes, very similar to these, dug up in the marshes of the river Medway, above Maidstone; made of trees which were hollowed. And one of them was so perfectly preserved, as to be actually used for a boat some time after it was dug up.‡

So on draining *Martine Meer*, || or Marton Lake, in Lancashire, a few years ago, there were found sunk at the bottom eight canoes; each made of a single tree; which there is every reason to believe were used by the antient Britons in fishing upon this lake; and which, in size and shape, were much like the American canoes.

Beverley's account of the method which the Indians of Virginia used for constructing these sort of vessels, is so curious, that I cannot omit to insert it: and the rather venture even to describe the whole process at large; because it flings great light upon another most singular circumstance, often observed with regard to our own peat grounds, and morasses: (viz.) that many of the old stumps, and bottoms of large trees found therein, appear to have been burnt down with fire. A circumstance which seems to indicate, that the trees themselves had been felled by the aboriginal inhabitants of

* Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 94. + See a faithful representation by Thomas Harriot, in De Brie's publication of his drawings. See also Beverley's History of Virginia.

‡ Description of England, Vol. V. p. 128.

|| Leigh, I. p. 18. Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 138.

this island, nearly in the very same manner as the trees by the Indians in Virginia.

“ They bring down a great tree, (says Beverley,*) by making
 “ a small fire round the root, and keeping the flame from running
 “ upward, until they burn away so much of the basis, that the least
 “ puff of wind throws it down. When it is prostrate, they burn
 “ it off to what length they would have it, and with their *stone*
 “ *tomahawks*, break off all the bark, which when the sap runs will
 “ easily strip, and at other times also will come off when well
 “ warmed by fire. When it is brought to a due length, they raise
 “ it upon a bed to a convenient height for their working, and then
 “ begin by gentle fires to hollow it, and with scrapers rake the
 “ trunk, and turn away the fire from one place to another, till they
 “ have deepened the belly of it to their desire: thus also they
 “ shape the ends, till they have made it a fit vessel for crossing the
 “ water; and this they call a canoe, one of which I have seen thirty
 “ feet long.”†

In Perthshire, in Scotland, in the division called Athol, in the parish of Mouline, on the top of a great eminence, are the remains of a vast enclosure; a stronghold, of the same nature with that in Glen-elg.‡ The form tends to an oval; the greatest length is three hundred and sixty-feet; and the breadth one hundred and twenty.

We now ought to mention some of those extraordinary fortresses, which from certain very striking circumstances in their appearance, have been supposed by Mr. Williams, and Mr. Anderson, who examined them very attentively, to have had their walls, or rather banks, *artificially vitrified*; but which Mr. Pennant, and Mr. Cordiner (who also saw them), concluded to be either remains of antient *volcanic* hills converted to this use; or at least to have had their valla,

* Hist. of Virginia, p. 198.

† It ought however to be remembered; that besides heavy ones, of timber, (which may be called *log-canoes*,) the Britons had a still lighter kind of boat, made of osiers, and the flexible branches of trees, and covered with skins; which were still in use in Cæsar's time; who informs us, that he even transported an army over a river in Spain, in boats made in imitation of them. They were also, we are informed, so light, that they might easily be carried in carts. See Cæsar de Bello. Civ. lib. i. sect. 54. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. vii. sect. 57. and lib. iv. cap. 16. sect. 30.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 53.

or banks, constructed of the lava of *volcanos* collected from some adjacent parts.

Leaving the controversy to be supported by the ingenious dissertations that have been written to clear up this matter,* we may just remark; that even if the bank or vallum was actually vitrified, it required no great degree of civilization or skill, to melt down, amongst the stones of which the bank was composed, masses of that particular kind of earthy iron ore of a very vitrescible nature; which we are told much abounds in that neighbourhood, and through all the northern parts of Scotland.

"The fortresses of this kind," Mr. Anderson says, "for the most part, surround a small area on the top of some steep conical hill of very difficult access.+ One of the most remarkable of them, in particular, called *Knock-ferrel*, two miles west from Dingwal, in Ross-shire, is situated on the summit of a very steep and high hill, of a longish form, and therefore rising into a sort of ridge at top, long in proportion to its breadth. Hence, when it is viewed at a distance, opposite to either end, it appears of a perfect conical form, very beautiful in its proportions; but when it is seen on one side, one of the ends appears plainly to be much steeper than the other: and at that end where the declivity is the least steep is the access, by a narrow path, on which you may ascend to the top even on horseback. The fortress on this summit consists of a long elliptical area, of near an acre of ground, which is entirely level, except towards each end, where it declines and falls a little lower than in the middle; and where are the two entrances. The one defended by eight or more cross banks, extending about an hundred yards," as Mr. Anderson apprehended; "the other, where the hill is steeper, defended only by two or three such banks, extending about twenty yards.‡ This area is surrounded entirely, except at the entrances, by a

* See the *Archaeologia*, Vol. V. p. 255. Vol. VI. p. 88. And a pamphlet in octavo by Mr. John Williams, entitled, "An Account of some remarkable Antient Ruins lately discovered in the Highlands, and Northern Parts of Scotland. In a series of Letters. And Cordiner's *Antiquities of Scotland*, p. 12, 13, 14, 49. And Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 165.

+ *Archaeologia*, Vol. V. p. 255.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 256.

"steep sloping bank or *vallum*, so exactly adapted to the form of
 "the hill, as to stand on the very brink of a precipice all round;
 "and to appear even a continuation of the steep slope of the hill.*
 "On cutting through this bank, it appeared to be composed of rub-
 "bish; and loose stones, and superincumbent earth, like any other
 "mound; but † on the outside sloping part, it was found to have
 "a crust of about two feet in thickness, consisting of stones im-
 "mersed among vitrified matter; some of the stones being half fused
 "themselves, and the rest of them having evidently suffered a con-
 "siderable heat. But the stones in the interior substance of the
 "bank beneath this crust, and in the part next the inward area,
 "did not seem to have been affected at all.

"Such was the strange appearance of the construction of this
 "vallum. In other respects it is exactly like that of other British
 "fortresses: and," as the ingenious author of this account ob-
 "serves, "composed of large loose stones; not merely for the sake
 "of forming a steep vallum to prevent the approach of an enemy;
 "but because (being on the brink of a precipitous steep), no
 "weapon could well have been so destructive to an assailant, as a
 "stone rolled down the hill.

"In some other of these fortresses, the supposed vitrification was
 "perceived to be on the inside."‡

Let us attend to a few plain facts, by way of elucidating this
 matter, if possible, a little more fully.

Strabo has told us, that the walls of British towns and fortresses;
 in the plain and Lowland parts of the country, were constructed of
 trees hewn down, and made to form a fence; || and if so, we may
 surely conclude, that even in the hills, wherever timber could with-
 out difficulty be obtained, trees were also made use of, at least in
 part, to construct the banks and fences round the summits of their
 strongholds. It is most probable, that trees and wood were at first
 laid in such *vallâ* or banks, to bind the stones and earth the more
 firmly together; and to enable the Britons, or Caledonians, to raise
 those banks the higher. And in that case nothing is more obvious,

* Archaeologia, p. 257.

† Ibid. p. 259.

‡ Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 33.

|| Strabo. lib. iv. p. 200.

than that such walls were capable of being set on fire by an enemy: And if they were once set on fire, and there should chance to have been any of the earthy iron ore of a vitrescible nature, with which the neighbouring country abounded (and which Mr. Anderson mentions), mixed with the stone and timber, though by mere accident, and only as a material ready at hand, the vitrified mass so much the object of attention *now*, would easily have been produced, without any design on the part of the original architects.

That other still more antient walls were actually of this sort of construction has been most judiciously taken notice of by Mr. Harmer; * who says moreover, that the building walls partly of stones, and partly of other materials, continues to be a practice in the East to this very day.

Even the magnificent and finished wall of the outer court of the Temple of Solomon, was built with three rows of hewed stones, and then a row of cedar beams: and so was the wall of the inner court.† And again; when the walls were rebuilt, after the captivity, it was with three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber. ‡

And from this sort of construction, with materials so mixed, in a much ruder manner, we may be able to account not only for vitrified remains, but also for what the prophet Amos says, concerning the *sending a fire on the wall of Gaza*; || and *kindling a fire in the wall of Rabbah*, § *in the day of battle, when their king should go into captivity*.

We have a remarkable instance, mentioned by Josephus,** of a strong inner wall, built by the Jews, when *Masada* was besieged; which was constructed of rows of great beams laid cross and cross, in an artificial manner, with earth and rubbish flung in to fill up the cavities; this wall could not be affected by the battering ram, which had destroyed the outward one. Flavius Silva, the Roman general, therefore, found no other means of destroying it but by fire; which at last accomplished its ruin. And had any of the earth and materials thrown in consisted at all of such sort of clay as has been just mentioned, there cannot be a doubt but that the ruins of

* In his Observations on divers passages of Scripture, Vol. III. p. 93, 94.

† 1 Kings, ch. vii. ver. 11, 12. ‡ Ezra, ch. vi. ver. 4. || Amos, ch. i. ver. 7.

§ Ibid. ver. 14, 15.

** De Bello Jud. lib. vii. cap. 8. sec. 2. 5.

this wall would have formed a *vitri-fied bank*, exactly of the same kind with the vitrified walls we have been describing.

These facts therefore may very plainly account, at least in a degree, for the *vitri-fied walls* of some of the old Caledonian strongholds, which in other respects so nearly resembled the strongholds in Wales, and other hilly parts of this island.

And we may the rather attribute the appearance to some such cause; when we consider, that the first and most antient walls of the *Acropolis* at *Athens*, were merely of wood; as appears from the misapprehension of the oracle in the time of Xerxes.*

And that, in later ages, there is every reason to believe, some of the antient Welch castles had also walls merely of wood.†

It remains only to be added, that two more of these vitrified fortifications are to be seen in Galloway.‡

To proceed then with the consideration of other British fortresses in our own country.

Warton Cragg, in Lancashire, may justly be deemed another British stronghold. It is fully described by Mr. Hutchinson, in the *Archaeologia*; where is also a representation of it.¶

This fortress is on a lofty conical eminence, terminating obtusely; in height near one thousand feet above the level of the sea; in the bay called by Ptolemy the Bay of Morecambe. The ascent from the north is gradual, by a ridge of land; on every other side the cliffs are rugged, and almost perpendicular; so that the summit of the hill is unassailable but from the northern quarter. The crown of the hill forms a plain upwards of two hundred paces in diameter, of a circular form. In order to improve this natural stronghold, and indeed to render it impregnable, the Britons erected three walls: the first, or uppermost wall, runs from the brink of the cliffs, on the south-east point, where the eminence begins to slope to the northward, along the edge of the plain, forming an extensive area, almost circular; the cliffs comprehending three hundred paces, and the wall three hundred and thirty-six paces. The ruins of this wall fill ten paces in width, and where the facings of both sides of the wall

* Herodotus Wesselingii ed. lib. 7, 142. p. 568.

† See Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 377, 378.

‡ See an account of them in the

Archaeologia, Vol. X. p. 147.

¶ Vol. IX. Pl. XV. p. 212, 213.

are discovered, it shews ten feet in thickness. There are two openings in this wall about six paces wide, and nearly at equal distances, dividing the three hundred and thirty-six paces of the wall into three portions. No mortar has been used in this or any of the walls of the fortress. The surface of the area is rugged, and in most parts rocky. Near the north-east gate, or opening, is a large circular cavity, about twenty paces diameter, which seems to have been designed as a reservoir for water. From the uppermost circumvallation, at the distance of twenty paces, a second wall commences, at the edges of the inferior cliffs and precipices, and runs parallel with the former wall. The ruins of this wall are considerably less than the other. There are two gates, or openings, in the second wall, not opposite to those of the inner one, but inclining more to the north and west. At the distance of forty paces, is a third or outward wall, also commencing at the edges of the cliffs, and running parallel to the other walls. The ruins of this wall are not so immense as those of the uppermost, though they are much more considerable than those of the middle wall. In this outward wall there are three gates, or openings; one near the centre, commanding the ridge of the hill, by which the fortress was most accessible; and two side gates almost opposite to those in the uppermost wall. And not far from this outward vallum are scattered very many small tumuli of an oval figure. And as a still farther proof of the British origin of this fortress; in its neighbourhood, on a range of rocks a little way to the north-west of it, and much below its walls, are three rocking stones, placed in a right line, north and south, at equal distances, about forty feet asunder.

Another remarkable fortress that, both from its name, and form, may well be concluded to have been British, is *Old Oswestry*, or *Hen Ddinas*, or *Caer Ogyrfan*, in *Shropshire* (for it has all these appellations).

It is situated on an insulated eminence of an oblong form,* which has been fortified with much art. The top is an extensive area, containing fifteen acres, three roods, and eight perches of fertile ground, surrounded with two ramparts and fosses of great heights and depths. At a distance from these, at the foot of the hill, is another deep fosse

* Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 258.

which surrounds the whole, and ends (as do the two others) at the two entrances; which are placed diagonally, opposite to each other. On the slope of the hill, on both sides of one entrance, are a range of deep oblong trenches, running transversely between the second ditch and another, which seems to be designed for their immediate protection; for the first extends no further than these trenches; the other to no great distance beyond them. Tradition says this place was the last retreat of the Britons.* And it is no small confirmation of its high antiquity, that a curious *circular* wooden shield† was dug up some years ago in its area. This shield was about eleven inches and two-thirds in diameter, bound round with iron, and covered with iron net work, and having the inside lined with three coats of leather, and furnished with an handle, or strap, to pass over the arm; as the outside had an *umbo* four inches long, terminating in a point from the centre.

As there are such strong reasons for concluding this last fortress in Shropshire to be British; so also there are sufficient grounds for believing that the high hill, which is seen near Warnford, in Hampshire,‡ with a fortification of this sort at the top, called *Old Winchester*, was indeed the very original British town, in this part, from whence the present city of Winchester derived its existence, and subsequent importance; just as Salisbury succeeded Old Sarum.

And there being at Warnford a most curious structure, manifestly of the highest antiquity of almost any remaining in this island, if we are to judge from the style of its architecture; we may even from thence also § deduce some additional proof of the still greater antiquity and importance of the pre-existing, and near adjoining stronghold.

The well known fortress also on Gogmagog hills, in Cambridge-shire, called Vandlebury, || I may venture to say was most undoubt-

* See Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 421; and a plan of Oswestry, Pl. XII. Fig. 11. p. 404.

† This shield was engraved by the Society of Antiquaries in 1763. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. II. Pl. XX. Fig. 6, 7, 8, &c.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 120.

§ This building is most accurately described by Mr. Wyndham, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. V. p. 357, where are views, and a plan of the whole.

|| Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 138.

edly British. It is triple trenched, with two ditches, rudely circular, two hundred and forty-six paces in diameter, formed just as the British manner was; and the Roman road passing by it, from the brow of the hill, seems to have been caused to pass this way merely on account of this aboriginal fortress.

So again a stronghold near Seaddon, in Staffordshire, which is mentioned by Dr. Plott,* as situated upon the edge of Shropshire, at a place called Ape-wood Castle, seems most obviously to have been an antient British post. It stands, according to his description, on a very lofty round promontory, commanding a vast prospect; and having the whole steep ridge, between it and *Chapshill*, for a mile together, all along cut into ditches, or hollows in the ground. Dr. Plott himself was persuaded it was a British work; but as I never saw it, I cannot presume to form a decided opinion, although it would be an omission, on this occasion, not to make some mention of it.

And now I must add further, that notwithstanding the arguments adduced by Dr. Borlase, to prove those which he calls *Hill Castles*, in Cornwall, to have been constructed by the Danes, I cannot but conclude some of them, in like manner, to have been decidedly British; as I am persuaded he himself would have done, if he had been acquainted with the many fortresses, of a construction exactly similar, in Wales, and in Scotland, and in some parts where the Danes had no access that we know of; and where at least they could have no leisure to rear works of such labour, which would have been to them of so little use, even according to Dr. Borlase's own method of reasoning.

And I do the rather remain most fully persuaded, that these *Hill Castles* were *British*:

First. Because they are so totally different from those others; which for the plainest and most satisfactory reasons,+ Dr. Borlase saw clearly were truly Danish.

Secondly. Because he himself was convinced that the reasons usually assigned for these being Danish were very unsatisfactory. ‡

* History of Staffordshire, p. 397.

+ Borlase, 345, 346.

‡ Ibid. 348.

Thirdly. Because the original names of many of them are truly British.*

Fourthly. Because they are in a part of the island, to which the aboriginal Britons were driven to have recourse, in the same manner as they were driven for shelter at last into Wales; and we may be assured therefore that they not only *previously* knew of strong British posts and fortresses in this part, but would also afterwards render the whole country as strong as possible; which accounts for these hill strongholds being so many of them in sight of one another, in a continued chain;† just in the same manner as they are found to be both in Wales,‡ and amongst the old Caledonians in Scotland.

Fifthly. Because they so exactly correspond with the description of British strongholds *on hills*, given by Tacitus;|| to which also Cæsar originally remarked they had recourse, as well as to their woods.¶

And sixthly. Because they so exactly resemble the British fortresses we have already been describing; and all those concerning which there cannot possibly remain the least doubt; and agree with them, even in the circumstance of the little circular foundations, and low walls for the British huts, being still remaining on some of them.

To elucidate these particulars, I shall beg leave to add the descriptions of two or three, almost in Dr. Borlase's own words.

On the top of an high hill, in the parish of Sancred, is a circular fortification, called *Caer-bran*,** consisting first of a deep ditch, fifteen feet wide, edged with stone, through which you pass to the first or outward *vallum*, which is of earth, fifteen feet high. Within this vallum, passing another large ditch, about fifteen yards wide, you come to a rude stone wall, which quite rounded the top of the hill, and seems to have been of considerable strength; though it now lies like a ridge of disorderly stones. The diameter of the whole is ninety paces, and in the centre of all is a little circle.

Castleandinas, in the parish of Ludgvan, in Cornwall, is another of these fortresses. It consisted of two stone walls, built one within the other, in a circular form, surrounding the area of the hill.

* Borlase, p. 349.

† Ibid. p. 348.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 413.

|| Annalium, lib. xii. cap. 53.

§ De Bello Gallico, lib. v. sec. 11.

** Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 346. Pl. XXIX. Fig 2.

The ruins are now fallen on each side the walls, and shew the work to have been of great height and thickness; there was also a third and outmost wall, built more than half way round. Within the walls are many little enclosures, of a circular form, about seven yards diameter, with little walls round them, of two and three feet high; which appear plainly to have been huts, and habitations. The diameter of the area of the fort, from east to west, is four hundred feet; and the principal *graff*, or ditch, is sixty feet wide. Towards the south the sides of this mountain are marked by two large green paths, about ten feet wide, which have been visibly cleansed by art of their natural roughness, for the more convenient approach to this garrison. Near the middle of its area is a well, almost choaked with its own ruins; and at a little distance, a narrow pit, its sides walled round; probably dug for water also, but now filled with rubbish.

This fortress is on the highest hill in the hundred of Penwith; and as to construction does not materially differ from *Caer-bran*. And surely every one who compares the account of it, given by Borlase,* with that which has been previously inserted of the Herefordshire Beacon, must perceive that they were both clearly of the same kind of construction.

Further; on the top of *Bartine hill*, in the parish of *St. Just*, in *Cornwall*, may be seen a circular mound of earth, but with little or no ditch; and which perhaps was never finished.† But yet, within this enclosure was sunk a well, now filled up; and near the centre, are three small circles, edged with stones pitched on end, and contiguous to each other; the northernmost nine yards in diameter, the others seven.‡

The celebrated work also, called *Maiden Castle*, in *Dorsetshire*, although commonly supposed to be Roman,|| yet there is the strongest reason to believe was originally British. For it is not easily to be imagined, that the Romans would have been at the inconceivable labour of erecting mud walls of so astonishing a magnitude, in such a spot, when they were so well acquainted with the great prefer-

* *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 347. † *Ibid.* p. 346. ‡ *Ibid.* Pl. XXIX. Fig. 1.

|| See a representation of it in *Gough's Additions to Camden*, Vol. I. p. 50.

ence of stone ramparts, used by them in so many other places. And it is no less unaccountable, that they should, contrary to their usual mode, prefer such a barbarous and irregular form. Neither can any satisfactory reason be assigned, why no Roman bricks, or coins have ever been found here, when so many are found at Maumbury, a much inferior work, near Dorchester.

To which I may add, that here also, near the south entrance, has been found the mouth of a cavern; a peculiarity that coincides with some *aboriginal hill fortresses*, but not with any of those of the Romans. And indeed, the manner in which the whole interior part is divided as it were into two camps; by a ditch and vallum running across; (whilst each camp has its proper entry, with perplexed banks, and ditches, like those at Old Sarum); corresponds much more nearly to the different spaces contrived, for the cattle of the country, and for the armed men, on the Herefordshire Beacon; and on the *Catterthun*; and on some other British fortresses; than with the separation of a Roman *prætorium* from the rest of a Roman camp; which subdivision we always find was made by them in a very different manner.

From these circumstances therefore, together with the near adjoining situation of a vast number of tumuli, and barrows, reaching for near ten miles, and very different from any works of the Romans, we may conclude Maiden Castle to have been a British fortress.*

The appearance of its ditches;† its entrances somewhat resembling those at Old Sarum; and every thing about it, are British. And the *Via Iceniana* running within a mile of it, only shews that such a strong and original British post determined the Romans to bring a road this way. They might also, indeed, when conquerors, find it not inconvenient for a military post; and might therefore make some use of it, as they doubtless did of several other British fortresses: but how unlike was the whole of the construction here, to that at Richborough? which latter must have been one of their first establishments on this island; and which gives us decidedly their general plan.

And whilst we are enumerating these remarkable British remains,

* See some investigation of this matter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1787, p. 734.

† See a plan of it in Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 30. Pl. II.

we cannot but recollect *that* called *Maiden Bower*, not far from Dunstable; although it was a place of much inferior strength to many of those already mentioned. It consists of a large circular area of about nine acres, on the very summit of the chalk hills. Camden* very justly observes, that it is a round military fortification, such as Strabo has told us the British towns were. The vallum or bank is from eight to fourteen feet high, and to the south and east it has no ditch. On the north-west side is the descent to the meadows. The barrows in the neighbourhood of Dunstable confirm the reality of its British origin; and there can be very little doubt, but that this fortress was afterwards the very place called *Magintum* by the Emperor Antoninus, in his Itinerary, from whence at last Dunstable derived its existence, on an adjacent spot, in the reign of Henry I.

Besides all these fortresses, which remain in a state so little altered, we find others that were as unquestionably British; where yet, in later ages, either buildings of stone have been erected, or the names have been changed.

Amongst these, Craig y Dinas, in Merionethshire, deserves notice. There we find upon an high summit of an hill, surrounded with a vast heap of stones, the ruins of a wall, which in many parts retains a regular and even facing. One of those kinds which were the first deviations from the quite rude ramparts of loose stones; and prior to the improvement of masonry by the use of mortar. And here we also find an oblique artificial entrance, with stone facings on both sides; and near this entrance two ramparts of stone.†

And amongst these also may be classed Billington Bury; on which the antient castle of Stafford is supposed to have been situated:‡ and Castle-hill, on the verge of Cank heath, in the same county, which Mr. Pennant justly concludes (contrary to Dr. Plott's idea) to have been a work much more antient than the time of King Canute.¶

Hunsborough Hill also, in Northamptonshire, may fairly be allowed (contrary to the received opinion), to have been a British

* Gibson's Camden, p. 290. Gough's edition, Vol. I. p. 325, 331.

† See Pennant's Tour in Wales, and Journey to Snowdon, p. 109.

‡ See his Journey from Chester, p. 77. ¶ Ibid. p. 97, 98.

post, and not a Danish work of the beginning of the tenth century, or about 921. For it is hardly probable that the Danes (who were in possession of Northampton in 917) would raise such a kind of work so near their much stronger quarters.*

So I must add Mowslow Castle, on the top of a very high hill, in the parish of Glossop, in the county of Derby, appears much rather to have been originally a British, than a Saxon fortress; notwithstanding its present name may seem to be derived from a name given it in Saxon times: and though it may have been surrounded with a wall.† Its figure shews it plainly to have been originally a British fortress. It is on a lofty summit; and consists of an area of several acres, encompassed by three large ditches. The ascent is on the south-west side, where the slope is easiest; and there the strongest works, or banks, were raised. On all other parts the hill is exceedingly steep.

Caergwrie also, on the summit of a great rock, in the parish of Hope, in Flintshire; notwithstanding it had afterwards a round tower built upon it, and deep fosses, cut through the rock itself; has round its verge the vestiges of a rampart of earth, and stones, and a fosse of such a kind as was usual in the British posts.‡

But one of the most remarkable is a rock called *Delvin* or *Inch-stuthel*, in the great plain of Stormont, a part of Strathmore, in Scotland.

It seems to have been possessed successively, by the ancient Caledonians, or original British people; by the Picts; by the Romans; and by the Scots, from age to age; having now at last a modern mansion upon it.¶

The situation of this house is of strange singularity; on a flat of a hundred and fifty-four Scotch acres; regularly steep on every side, and in every part of equal height; that is, about sixty feet above the great plain of Stormont, in which it stands. On this elevated flat we find vestiges of just such a dike, as the most antient uncivilized people used by way of fortification; a mound of stones

* Journey to Chester, p. 323. † Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 89.

‡ Tour in Wales, p. 404. ¶ It is not a great way either from Dinkeld, or Perth. In Mr. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 67, is a plan of the whole.

and earth running all round the margin of the steep in every part; and remaining in many places entire; although rendered less visible in others. The stones of which it is composed, appear not to have been found upon the spot; but to have been brought from a place two miles distant, where quarries of the same kind are now to be met with.

In a part of this strange elevated plain of rock, where it begins to grow narrow at one corner, a dike crosses the ground from margin to margin. This seems to have been a sort of outwork against an enemy; and within this, nearer the precipice, at the corner, a portion has been cut off for the original stronghold; defended by five great dikes, and as many deep fosses. Here not only the Caledonians, but the Picts afterwards, and then the first Scots, unquestionably defended themselves; and on the remaining larger part of this extraordinary insulated rock, even the Romans formed a square camp; of which there are some remains.* *Delvin* seems also formerly to have had a further security, of which time hath divested it; for there is every reason to believe, both from the antient name, *Inch-stuthel* (or *the isle of Tuthel*), and from several appearances, that the river *Tay* once entirely environed this insulated elevation. In the plain of Stormont, near adjoining, are several small barrows; an additional proof surely, if such were wanted, of the great antiquity of this fortress.

Such as we have been describing are the remains of the first rude efforts of human industry; urged on, by fear and necessity, to form munitions, in this country, against wild beasts, and against as savage men. Munitions whose natural strength and firmness was so great, that the caution, skill, and experience of Paulinus, of Agricola, and of other Roman commanders, soon taught them not to attack, unnecessarily, these *dernier resorts*; these nearly inaccessible strongholds.

We read in antient annals, however, of fierce attempts in other regions; where, before such consummate and dear bought experience took place, these aboriginal strongholds were attacked and

* Particular notice has been taken of this, since these sheets were written, by General Roy (in his *Military Antiquities*, p. 75); who perceiving strong remains of Roman works, of a subsequent age, seems too much to have lost sight of the nature of the original stronghold.

stormed, with great loss; and, unless by surprise, to very little purpose. We shall have occasion to mention some of these adventures. But before we quit the notice of British forecast and caution, it may not be amiss just to mention, as a matter of some little additional curiosity; that from certain remains still existing, they seem also to have devised some other means of more ordinary refuge, than these great strongholds just described: and also hiding places for their stores; as other nations on the Continent did, in a similar manner, long before them.

For there are certain subterraneous rude pits and caverns still remaining, in different parts of this island, which so nearly resemble those mentioned by Tacitus, as being frequently made by the Germans, that it is almost impossible to avoid concluding that they were formed for the same purposes, by the first colonizers of this country!

Tacitus tells us,* "that the Germans were accustomed to dig "subterraneous caverns, and then to cover them over above with "much loose earth (or compost); forming hereby a refuge from "storm, and a receptacle for corn; because by means of such sort of "places they resist the frost. And besides, if at any time an enemy "comes; the open country is plundered, but these concealed and "deep sunk dens, are either unknown, or deceive the plunderers, even "by that very circumstance, that they are places to be hunted after."

So Hirtius tells us,† "it was the custom of the inhabitants (of "that part of Africa which we now call the Barbary coast) to have "in their fields, and in almost all their towns, caves under ground, "for the sake of hiding their corn privately; and that they prepared these principally on account of wars, and the sudden invasion of their enemies; which circumstance being discovered "to Cæsar, he obtained from thence a great quantity of grain."

Numbers of such subterraneous magazines Dr. Shaw met with, even still continued in use, in that very country.‡ And Dr. Russell tells us, that in Syria he met with the same sort of repositories:

* Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt; et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur; abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt. De Moribus Germaniæ, c. 16.

† Hirt. de Bello Africano, sect. 57.

‡ Shaw's Travels, p. 139.

for near Aleppo, he says,* their granaries are even at this day subterraneous grottos, the entry to which is by a small hole, or opening, like a well.

And in like manner Le Bruyn assures us,† that near Rama, in Syria, he met with many pits, and wells, which he was told had served to keep corn and grain; and by means of throwing down stones, he discovered that they were very deep.

Mr. Harmer,‡ in his most useful and excellent observations on Scriptural history, very judiciously applies some of these descriptions to the illustration of that remarkable passage in Jeremiah,|| where ten men are said to have preserved their lives from slaughter by discovering their treasures to Ishmael, saying, “*slay us not; for we have treasures in the field, of wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of honey. So he forbore, and slew them not among their brethren.*” On which occasion I must also add, that the bodies of the seventy men that were slain by *Ishmael*, are said to have been flung into a pit, which Asa, the King of Judah, had made for fear of Baasha, King of Israel.

The same most intelligent annotator, Mr. Harmer, also makes use of a very curious account of a circumstance that happened so late as the time of the Croisades; and that serves to explain the manner in which people, in the most antient times, hid themselves, and their effects, for fear of an enemy. §

“When Baldwin I.** invaded the country near Ascalon in Syria, he found villages, whose inhabitants having left their houses, had retired with their wives, and children, their flocks, and herds, into subterraneous caves. And upon hearing this, he ordered fires to be kindled at the mouths of those caves, that they might be forced to surrender; which having effected, he ordered an hundred of them to be beheaded, because they had been formerly a great annoyance to travellers, rendering the roads dangerous; and he seized on the provisions, they had lain in for themselves, and the cattle with them.”

* Russell's History of Aleppo, p. 18.

+ Le Bruyn's Travels, Vol. II. p. 149.

‡ Harmer's Observations, Vol. II. p. 452.

|| Jeremiah, ch. xli. ver. 8, 9.

§ Harmer's Observations, Vol. III. p. 61.

** Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 781.

Nor ought we, whilst mentioning these caves, and hiding places, to omit recollecting what Tavernier relates,* concerning the country between the antient *Nineveh*, and *Ispahan*, in Persia; not far from the famous plain of *Arbela*. That amongst the mountains, even an entire town, called *Cherazoul*, is found, formed of a number of caverns; which there is reason to believe were originally made only as places of retreat, to defend the inhabitants of the frontier against the Arabs of Mesopotamia.

They are cut out of the face of a precipitous rock, he says, for the extent of a quarter of a league; and each habitation consists of a cave, whose mouth is stopped by rolling a great stone, like a sort of mill-stone, into it; where the sides of the door-way are so cut, as to receive it exactly; in such a manner that the surface of the stone becomes level with the rock. By which means we may perceive, that it might be thrust out by those within, but could not well be pulled out, without proper instruments, by any persons on the outside. Tavernier adds also, that (au dessus) above these habitations, there are caves dug out, where the inhabitants secured their cattle.

And we have a proof of the construction and use of pits for securing corn in Hungary; where necessity has caused the custom to be preserved much longer. Dr. Brown says,† that in Upper Hungary, they use not barns or stacks of corn; but have many deep and large caves under ground, wherein they lay it up safe, both from robbers, and from sudden incursion of enemies. At *Clesch* near *Toopolchan*, when the Turks and Tartars, in late wars, made their inroads, the people retired and hid themselves in such cavities; but some Turks, speaking Slavonian, told them that the coast was clear, and the enemy gone, and so tempted them out of their holes; whereby they were unfortunately deceived into captivity, and carried away into remote countries, never to be heard of again.

So in Mingrelia, on the borders of the Euxine, which was formerly connected with Media, Chardin informs us‡ that they secure their grain and forage in deep pits, which they cover so nicely, that there is no appearance of the earth having ever been removed.

* Voyages de Tavernier, Tom. I. p. 198.

† Brown's Travels, p. 12.

‡ Tom. I. p. 38. ed. 1711.

And he says, he has seen pits of this kind which have served from generation to generation, without any damp or moisture having penetrated into them; and without being subject to any bad smell.

All these accounts uniformly shew, what recourse mankind in general, in an uncivilized state, in different countries, and especially in those which were first of all inhabited, had to these kind of hiding places, for security; as well as to strongholds, on rocks, and hills. It may therefore very reasonably be conceived, that the primæval inhabitants of this island, would not be without such rude resources: and accordingly we find *remains* that answer most precisely to such sort of hiding places.

For, as to those for corn and grain, there is one that can hardly be mistaken; although such strange conclusions have been drawn by some writers with regard to it; and even by one who judged so excellently well in other matters.

It is at Royston, in Hertfordshire; most manifestly quite unconnected with the foundation of the present town; and prior to the existence of any place of that denomination: for it was discovered, at last, only by means of an endeavour to put down a post in the market-place, in 1742.

A very imperfect sketch of it, taken from Dr. Stukeley's drawing, may be seen in Mr. Gough's *Additions to Camden's Britannia*;^{*} but it is in reality of a much more conical form than there represented. The descent to it is by a narrow pipe or well, just like those in Syria. And as to the figures, and odd holes cut in the sides, in the chalk, they are clearly the rude carvings of idle persons, who have been down there at different times; and afford no rational ground for any conjectures, like those of Dr. Stukeley, concerning a Lady Roisia, or its having been her oratory. Its situation, in a country full of British barrows; and in a spot of such note in early ages, that two Roman roads were made to meet there; as well as the whole appearance of the place, speak it to have been a most antient repository for grain; and sometimes even a secret hiding place for persons, against irruptions of enemies, of that violent and sudden kind so frequent in early ages.

Of the same sort of structure also; and (as seems most plainly to

^{*} Vol. I. p. 341.

appear from their whole form) designed for the same use, are those numerous pits near Grayford, in Kent; described by Mr. Hasted.* There are now to be seen, he says, as well on the heaths near Grayford, as in the fields and woods hereabout, many artificial caves in the earth; some of which are ten, some fifteen, and others twenty fathoms deep. At the mouth and thence downward, they are narrow, like the tunnel or passage of a well, but at the bottom they are large and of great compass, insomuch that some of them have several rooms, one within another, strongly vaulted, and supported with pillars of chalk. Mr. Hasted apprehended them to have been made by the Saxons, in imitation of the custom of their German ancestors, as described by Tacitus; but if we consider how much superior the other Saxon modes of fortification appear, it seems much more reasonable to conclude that they were *first* formed by the Britons, in conformity to the most antient usages of mankind.

There are several more of these kind of hiding pits, and of the like peculiar structure, near Faversham, in the same county.

And of this kind seem to have been the pits mentioned by Camden, near Tilbury in Essex.†

That they were all really the works of the Britons, may be concluded; because Diodorus Siculus expressly tells us, that the Britons did lay up their corn in *subterranean repositories*:|| from whence the antient people used to take a certain portion every day; and having dried and bruised the grains, made a kind of food thereof for immediate use.

Nor is it unworthy our notice, that this sort of diet, and also the quick mode of preparing it, greatly resembles what we read of, as being still in use, in some of the most uncivilized of the Western Islands of Scotland;§ and in some parts of the Highlands; amongst the descendants of the old British Caledonians. For there sometimes, to this very day, a woman taking an handful of ears of corn, and holding them by the stalks in her left hand, sets fire to the ears; and then with a stick in her right hand, beats off the parched grain, very dexterously, at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt;

* History of Kent, Vol. I. p. 211. † Ibid. Vol. II. p. 717. ‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 41. || Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. 209. p. 347. ed. Wesselingii.

§ See Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 204.

by which means a quantity of corn is winnowed, ground, and baked, within an hour. And in the very islands, where this usage and mode of dressing corn has continued so long, are also still visible remains of hiding pits. Amongst which, none are more remarkable than those called *the antient hiding holes in the island of Ilay*, one of the Hebrides; which have been used even down to very recent times, by the barbarous inhabitants, both for hiding of stores, and for secreting their own persons.

They are thus described by our most useful peregrinator, Mr. Pennant.* Speaking of *Doun-vollan* he says, “in various parts of this neighbourhood are scattered small holes, formed in the ground, large enough to hold a single man in a sitting posture: the top is covered with a broad stone, and that with earth; in these, unhappy fugitives took shelter after a defeat; and drawing together sods, found a temporary concealment from enemies, who in early times knew not the giving or receiving of quarter. The incursions of barbarians were always short; so that the fugitives could easily subsist in their earths till the danger was over: men were then almost in (what is called) a state of nature:—how strong was their resemblance to beasts of prey!”

Together with these very odd and slight hiding places described by Mr. Pennant, ought to be mentioned those which are to be met with in several parts of England; some of which have been strangely mistaken by Dr. Stukeley, and called *inverted barrows*: whilst others have been no less strangely mistaken by natural historians, and called swallow pits; or have even been supposed to have been occasioned merely accidentally by the falling in of the earth, over caverns, either natural, or artificial.

That some pits which were indeed originally natural swallows, or inlets of water; and that others, where mines or caverns have permitted the superincumbent earth to fall in, have a very similar appearance, is unquestionable: but there is one strange circumstance, that in a most decided manner distinguishes those *conical deep pits* just mentioned from all the others; and shews that they were really artificially formed; and carefully designed for the purpose of being

* Voyages to the Hebrides, p. 224.

hiding places. And that is; that to this very hour, although they be in spots where neighbouring cavities, much more shallow, will form little pools of water after rain; and others form even standing pits of water of no small depth; yet these will hold no water at all, and are always dry: being so contrived, with most manifest design, as just to reach down either to sand, or gravel, where the water will always run off directly. Whilst yet they cannot be conceived to have been mere natural outlets, or swallow pits; because they are usually on high grounds, and even on the summits of hills, where no descent, or final exit of any flood of waters could have been, even in the time of a general deluge; because such waters must have departed towards the adjoining vallies. To which it may be added, that their magnitude is by no means sufficient to have answered any such great, natural purposes.

As a farther proof of their original use, it is to be observed, that they are almost uniformly found on such hills as have on their summits a great extent of plain ground, and heath.

Of this kind are some very curious pits, on the top of the Combe Hills, not far from Croydon, in Surrey. They are of a conical form, and most manifestly have been constructed with great care, and much rude art; so as to preserve their figure like the barrows, and mounds, and other works of the Britons to this very hour. I measured one of the most perfect of them very exactly; and found it to be, in every direction, almost precisely fifty-five feet in diameter at the top, and thirty, or thirty-one feet in depth. At the bottom it has a flat area, nine or ten feet in diameter; where, on account of the sloping sides, and wide extended mouth above, thirty or forty men might either stand, or repose themselves, with the utmost ease and convenience; whilst it would be utterly impossible for any enemies, or marauders, traversing the great plain above, either to see them, or to discover the place of their concealment, till quite near the very edge of the pit. Even parties of horse could hardly discover the place at all more easily than roving bands of foot soldiers; for at this very time, an incautious traveller, or sportsman, may frequently be in great danger of falling in, before he is aware. And any person having seen it once, would be at a great loss to find it again, were it not for a foot path that has now been

purposely made. When I visited this curious pit, it was after many days of heavy rain: nevertheless the bottom was as perfectly dry, as the clearest part of the heath above; and the ascent up and down the sides was neither very dangerous or difficult, though steep and slippery. The air at bottom was clear and refreshing, and there was a perfect shelter from the wind. It appeared also most obvious, that provisions, and moveables, and other treasure, might be placed at the bottom, under the feet of those who should be concealed, without being liable to any more damage, than in any other part of the country in open air.

That these pits, therefore, were designed by the antient Britons for this very purpose, during times of hostile invasion, is most highly probable: and the rather, because there has been a constant tradition preserved, in the adjacent country, that there was a *British town* in the neighbourhood, at Addington; whilst as a confirmation of the truth of this tradition, it may be observed, that there are still existing, in the neighbourhood of these pits, on the brow of an hill; many small barrows, or tumuli, evidently British.

Nothing could be finer than the situation here chosen; for the view from the plain above is one of the richest that this country affords: and the remains of several exceeding antient stumps of trees, plainly shew, that notwithstanding the bleak appearance of the summit of these hills at present, yet that the spot was capable of producing timber; and was probably covered with wood originally, in the very manner by means of which British towns were usually secured. Besides the one most perfect pit that I have just described; there are three others still remaining almost entire; situated a little further to the south or south-west; and nearer to the barrows, and to a most remarkable brow of these hills, which has greatly the resemblance of an head land at sea. And one of these is larger than that which has been described.

Near these pits, although they are themselves so dry, there is a fine continual spring of water bursting out, and running from thence down into the distant valley; sufficient for the supply of a great number of persons.*

* These pits were pointed out to me by John Claxton, Esq. of Shirley, who has been long resident in the neighbourhood.

Of a similar kind to the pits just described, are some conical pits on the extended plain of Moushold hill in Norfolk; not far from the very antient city of Norwich. And some others, on the great plain, not far from the road to Winchester.

There are some very remarkable pits also of this kind, about three miles north-east from Piddletown, in Dorsetshire; * one of which is so wide, that a man cannot throw a stone over it. They are all, like those in Surrey, of a conical form; broad at top, and narrower at the bottom. And it has been observed, in like manner of them, that they never hold water, in the wettest seasons. And there are also here, as in Surrey, some tumuli in the neighbourhood.

So also, on several parts of the South Downs, in Sussex, † (on which again are found many barrows) there are pits of a similar kind and form: as also on the plains in the neighbourhood of Lewes, and Brighthelmstone; all which appear manifestly to have been made by art, as the soil is firm and chalky.

There are also several others that might be enumerated, on elevated downs, in different parts of England.

And besides these, must be added that near *Winster*, in the Peak of Derbyshire, there are two regular lines of pits, of a very similar sort; concerning which it is curious to observe, that although a part of an adjoining wood is very swampy; yet in these pits, after several days rain, no water is to be found. They are in a wood, called *Linda Spring* near *Crich*. They are in two lines; and about fifty in number. ‡ And it has been well observed, that no ore, or stone, or clay, or coal, or any material is to be found in these pits, that could have been an inducement for digging them merely as pits. For the soil is entirely a dry kind of useless sandy gravel;—a sandy gravel which no human improvements in the neighbourhood could ever have found use for.

And particularly amongst these ought to be reckoned, those described by Leland, || on the Black Mountains, in Carmarthenshire, in Wales.

* See an account of them in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1768. Vol. XXXVIII. p. 109.

† Ibid. p. 284. ‡ Archaeologia, Vol. X. p. 114, 116.

|| Itinerary, Vol. VIII. p. 119.

"Ther be (he tells us),* a great numbar of pitts made with hand, "large lyke a bowl at the heade, and narrow at the bottom, owar- "growen in the swart with fine grase; and be scatterid here and "there, about the quartars where the heade of Kenner river is, that "cummythe by Carie Kennen, and sume of these will receyve a "hunderith men."

Such also seem to have been those called the Pen pits, between Meere and Wincanton, in Somersetshire.† And perhaps, also those extraordinary excavations, in the rich vale of Whitehorse, near Little Coxwell, in Berkshire,‡ described in the *Archaeologia*; which are called *Cole's Pits*, though no coal was ever found in the neighbourhood. But as these last are of a different form and structure; and many in number; and not regular in their shape and design; and are dug out of a stratum of sand; there is some room to conclude that they were possibly mere sand pits.

However that matter may be; it is undoubtedly true that excavations exactly of a similar kind to those on the Combe Hills, in Surrey, are often met with in various parts of this island; formed with such evident marks of design, that they might with much more propriety be called *inverted holds*; than (as Dr. Stukeley has denominated them) *inverted barrows*. They may very justly be deemed also to have served sometimes for the purpose of laying *ambuscades*, as well as for refuge. For their perfect concealment from the eye, till just upon them; and the very easy ascent from their bottom, by means of their sides sloping all round; appears admirably calculated for such an use.

There are, in like manner, some that may well have answered such an end, even on the summits of several hill fortresses.

Amongst which may be named the excavation found on the top of *Thetford Hill*, in Norfolk: a Fortress that has indeed generally been supposed, in conformity to popular opinion to have been Danish; but which there is much more reason to conclude must have been originally British, whatever use the Danes might make of it afterwards.

There are many pits for safeguard, and concealment, in various other parts; the enumeration of which would be too tedious. But before we quit entirely the consideration of artificial caves, it may

* Itinerary, Vol. VIII. p. 107 a.

† *Archaeologia*, Vol. VII. p. 241.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 236.

be a considerable confirmation of all that has been said, to observe shortly, that such were common, in the early and barbarous ages, in Ireland; though of a different construction from most of those in England; being long concealed winding galleries, with recesses, under ground. One of these is particularly described in the *Louthiana*;^{*} which was discovered under a ploughed field, near the river of Ballrichan; and seems to have been designed both for a granary to conceal corn, and for the security of other effects, in time of invasion. Many such are said to abound in that part of Ireland: and the Irish people have still a tradition, that they were all *sculking holes*.

We have some, of nearly a similar kind, also in Scotland; and particularly at *Hawthornden*, only seven miles from Edinburgh; which the tradition of that country (a tradition always deserving of some attention) still considers as the works of the Picts. Whensoever and by whomever they were made, they were unquestionably hiding places of the earliest ages, to secure both people, and effects, from the inroads of barbarous invaders.⁺ And as such they have obviously been connected with a strong, though small square tower, grafted as it were,[‡] on the native rock above, whose walls are of great thickness; and from the neighbourhood of which a pit, or well, is sunk, to let down effects and stores; that on account of the narrowness of the path of access, could be conveyed into them no other way.

The only entrance to these caverns, besides this pit, is on the precipitous side of a perpendicular rock, a great height above the river: where you first descend by twenty-seven steep and deep steps, cut in the rock; then pass a deep cleft, or gap, on a very narrow board, five feet in length; then ascend eight steps; and arrive at the mouth of the cave. Within the entrance of this, on the left hand side, cut in the rock, is a long narrow gallery, ascended by two steps more; which is seventy-five feet in length, and six

^{*} Wright's *Louthiana*, B. III. p. 16.

⁺ Dr. Stukeley, who has given a plan of them in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, fancied they formed a Pictish palace. Maitland, in his *History of Edinburgh*, ridicules this idea, but allows they were hiding caves.

[‡] See the account in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 55.

in breadth: near the upper end of which is a narrow little apartment, like a dungeon, called the king's bedchamber. And on the right hand of the entrance is another cavern, cut in the rock, and descended into by two steps; which is of the length of twenty-one feet, and, like the other, of the breadth of six: into which cavern it is that a communication is made from above, by the sinking of a pit, or well.*

Fronting the entrance is another cavern; ninety-one feet long, and in the first part twelve feet wide; but in the further part only five feet eight inches wide, + and six feet high. And in a recess near the broader part is a well, some fathoms deep. In the side of the first gallery also is a small window, or hole, in the front of the rock, facing the bridge; which seems obviously designed for the double purpose both of taking in the narrow board which forms the bridge, and of defending the pass.

So strong has this hiding pit been found, that it was even made use of by the brave, and well known, Alexander Ramsay, so late as the year 1841. He resided here a considerable time; and had (as the historians tell us) many gallant men resort to him. ‡

And as there are so many remains of these strange hiding places, and safeguards, in pits and caves in this island; we in like manner find similar remains, in other countries that were more early inhabited: as for instance, in the island of Minorca; where we may be assured a Celtic people were established, even before it was possible for the Britons, and their Druids, to have made any of their settlements in Britain.

There are, says Armstrong, || great numbers of *caves* to be found in Minorca: which are either such as are natural and original; or such as have been made by the waves of the sea; or *such as were scooped out of* the solid rock, by the labour of the natives in very remote times.

These last are by far the most numerous, and are capable of containing all the inhabitants of the country upon occasion.* They

* See Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 55. + Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part II. p. 254. ‡ Major. De Gestis Scotorum, lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 236.

|| In his History of Minorca, p. 223, &c.

differ little from those mentioned by Dr. Shaw, on the coast of Barbary: and some of them are even still actually inhabited by the poorest of the people. There is reason also to think, they served the natives as a retreat, for a long time *even in these later ages*, and as a place of security for their women and children, and the most precious of their moveables, on any extraordinary alarm; where they were safely concealed until the danger was over.

We learn, also, from Dameto's History of the Balearick kingdom, that the Moors, a little before their expulsion from *Majorca*, not only drew vast advantage from such kind of caves; but were enabled, by means of them, to make a noble defence against the victorious arms of their conqueror, and to cut off great numbers of his men, before they could be totally reduced.

Nor ought it to be forgotten, that we have the strongest proofs that the aboriginal caves, and hiding places, which had been made in Syria, and Palestine, by the antient kings of those regions, even in the days of Abraham, and of Joshua, were continued in use, from time to time, so late down as to the very last Jewish war.

For the account given by Josephus himself, of his own final retreat and concealment, just before he was taken prisoner by the Romans, puts the matter out of all question.

We find, in that account, that he was, with many others, concealed in a deep pit; which seems very nearly to have resembled those still remaining in our own country, at Royston, in Hertfordshire, and in some parts of Kent.

On the taking of Jotapata, he tells us,* the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly. And on the following days they searched the *hiding places*, and fell upon those that were *underground*; and in the *caverns*. As for himself: as soon as the city was first taken, he withdrew from the enemy, even when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a *certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den* AT ONE SIDE OF IT; *which den could not be seen by those that were above ground.*† And here he met with forty persons of eminency, that had concealed themselves, with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. Having remained here two days, on the third the place of his retreat was discovered by a woman:

* De Bello Jud. lib. iii. cap. 7. sec. 36.

† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 8. sec. 1.

whereupon Vespasian immediately sent two tribunes to offer him security for his life, and to exhort him to come up; and upon his hesitating, the soldiery grew so angry, that they ran hastily *to set fire to the den*;* but the tribune would not permit them so to do. At the same time the Jews who were concealed with Josephus threatened to kill him, if he condescended to surrender; and the event was, that he found himself under a necessity of casting lots for life; submitting to their determination of destroying each other to the last man. Josephus had, as he tells us, by the good providence of God, on which he trusted, the success to have the last lot but one; and then prevailed on his fellow, who only was left with him, after the rest were slain, to submit to Vespasian; and was thereupon drawn up out of the pit, and saved alive.

This full account, which chanced to have been preserved with such minute particulars down to our times, serves clearly to illustrate the nature of these caves; formed in the most antient times; continued so long in use in various countries; and imitated by almost all aboriginal people.

And whilst we refer to it, we ought also to remark, that in the very same places of his history, in which Josephus mentions the fortifying of *Mount Tabor* (a circumstance we shall have occasion to take notice of), he tells us of his fortifying this very *Cave of Jotapata*;† and also the caves of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha. And‡ that moreover he built walls about the caves near the lake of Gennesar; which places lay in the Lower Galilee: and the same he did to the places of the Upper Galilee.

He tells us also that *Simon*, the chief promoter of the last dire Jewish war, when he was making preparations for it, enlarged many caves, and found others ready for his purpose, at a valley called *Pharan*; and made use of them as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey; and therein laid up the fruits he had got by rapine. And that many of his partizans had their dwelling in them. ||

* This could be done only by combustibles flung down, with a view to suffocate those concealed therein, just as in another instance that will be mentioned in these Observations.

† Life of Josephus, sec. 37.

‡ De Bello Jud. lib. ii. cap. 20. sec. 6.

|| Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 9. sec. 4.

We are told besides this, that in the end of the war, the last hope which supported the seditious, was in their caves and caverns underground: whither if they could once fly, they thought they should not be searched for.* And indeed, in some of these it was, that a part of the gold and treasures taken from the Temple, and that was at last delivered up to Titus, was for a time actually concealed.†

Both John and Simon also, the two head leaders of the seditious, resorted in the end to these sort of caverns; the first of whom was obliged to surrender, for want of food; and the other was taken prisoner, as he and his band were attempting to make their way out by mining.‡

By the same most curious and venerable author, *Josephus*, who describes these subterraneous caves, we have also a no less interesting account of a kind of aerial caves, situated high up in the sides of precipitous rocks; that were equally used as places of security, and defence.

King Herod, he tells us, || determined to make an expedition against the Idumean robbers, who lay in caves. Caves which were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at on any side; since they had only some winding pathways, very narrow, whereby they got up to them: whilst the rock that lay in their front had beneath it vallies of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity. But Herod let down the most hardy of his men (by ropes) in chests (from the top of the precipice above) and set them at the mouths of the dens; where they slew the robbers, and their families: and if any made resistance, they set fire upon them, and burnt them.

Amongst these Idumeans, a certain old man, the father of seven children, with their mother, desired leave to go out; and having obtained that leave, by the giving of the right hand, he ordered every one of his family to go out before him, while he stood at the cave's mouth. And on their so doing, he slew every son as he passed forth; and threw his body down the precipice. So also he did unto his wife. And then, last of all, he precipitated himself.

* De Bello Jud. lib. vi. cap. 7. sec. 5.

+ Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 9. sec. 3 and 4.

‡ Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 2.

|| Ibid. lib. i. cap. 16. sec. 4.

The form of these caves and hiding places, even in the very same countries in the East, was undoubtedly often different; as we find they were in our own country.

For whilst some, like that at Royston;* and those at Crayford in Kent, were descended into, by means of a pit or well; of which kind was that wherein Josephus himself took refuge; others again were mere conical excavations: and others were entered on a level, through the side of some hill; like those concerning which he says, that he fortified their entrances with walls.†

Of this latter kind seem to have been those caves of the antient Cornish Britons mentioned by Borlase.‡ One of which is thirty-six feet long, seven high, and four feet wide; having an interior cave branching off on one side, with a second recess even in that. Whilst another, called *Pendeen Vau*, consists of three caves, each about twenty-six, or twenty-eight feet long; the second being placed at the end of the first, and separated by a partition; and the third branching off on one side. The height of these caves being between five and six feet; but their breadth only four feet and an half, on account of their being covered with flat stones at the top. ||

And of this latter kind, also, seem plainly to have been some of those caves in this island, on the bleak desolate hills near Kildrummy castle, in the northern parts of Scotland, mentioned by Mr. Cordiner; § which have their openings on the side of a mossy bank. "The entrance to them," he says, "is but small; shewing only a long dark cavity within: but on going in he found the recess to be about eight feet wide, and six or seven feet high, well built up at the sides, and covered with vast flags. One may advance twelve or fifteen paces without interruption; and where the passage is blocked up, seems to be owing rather to rubbish having fallen in, than to the original design of the builders. The others

* It should perhaps just be mentioned, that since the cave at Royston was discovered, about forty years ago, another more easy entrance down to it has been made, with a sloping descent; besides the original perpendicular well: which may much mislead an incautious observer.

† De Bello Jud. lib. ii. cap. 20. sec. 6.

‡ Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 292.

|| There is a representation and plan of this cave in Borlase's Antiquities, Plate XXV. fig. 1, 2, 3.

§ Antiquities of Scotland, p. 15.

“ are similar ; but whether they have been connected together, and
 “ had communication at the ends, cannot now be easily discovered.
 “ They are said to have been numerous, and of great extent ; and
 “ to have been the retreats of the antient possessors of the country,
 “ both from the inclemency of the weather occasionally, and from
 “ the fury of their enemies on invasions ; and no doubt had occa-
 “ sionally the entrance blocked up with a large stone.”

In the Western Isles, also, in the skirts of the island of Skie, is a large cave in a rock, on the east side of *Portrie*, large enough for eighty persons ; and having a well within it ; * which circumstance, together with its situation, and narrow entry, rendered it an inaccessible fort. One man only can enter it at a time by the side of a rock ; and having a staff in his hand would be able, with very little exertion, to cast over the rock as many as should attempt to come into the cave.

In the isle of *Arran*, again, in *Druim-Cruey*, is a cave in which an hundred men might very well be concealed. It is contracted gradually from the floor upwards to the roof. And at the upper end, on a large piece of rock formed like a pillar, there is engraven the figure of a deer, and underneath it that of a two-handed sword. There are also two holes cut out on each side the entrance, which they say served for holding large hewn trees, on which the cauldrons, or vessels, were hung for boiling venison, and provisions. And the natives affirm, that in this cave *Fin-Mac-Cowl* lodged, during the time of his residence in this isle ; and that many of his soldiers occupied the lesser caves, near this large one.

And as a further proof that these kind of caves were spacious enough to be resorted to ; and used in the manner above described ; it may be remarked, that a cave, a little more to the south, on the same coast, has even been had recourse to, as a place of assembly, within a very few years : the parochial minister preaching therein sometimes, because of its being more central than the parish church.

Somewhat similar to *Fin-Mac-Cowl's* cave, seems to have been that remarkable den, not far from Penrith, in Cumberland, called

* Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 151. + Ibid, p. 219.

the Giant's Cave. The approach to which is by a narrow flight of steps, half way down a bold precipice hanging over the river *Eamont*. It* is about nine feet high, twenty wide at the entrance, and about fifty in length; and there were lately remaining strong indications of the entrance having formerly been well secured, even by gates; which seems to indicate that it was fortified in somewhat the same manner with those Caves spoken of by Josephus.

Besides the great hiding cave abovementioned, in the skirts of the island of *Skia*, there are also several little stone hovels, built under ground,† and called *earth-houses*; which served to hide a few people, and their goods, in time of war. The entry to them was on the sea side, or on the side of some river: and there is particularly one of them that deserves notice in the village of *Lachsay*; and another in *Camstinwag*.

Somewhat such, and even of smaller dimensions, have already been mentioned as existing in the island of *Ilay*.

Of the same sort, also, and designed for the same purposes, seem to have been some subterraneous apartments, cut out of the rock, not far from Leith in Scotland.‡

And with the bare naming of these, I should here end the account of these *hiding-places*; but that there is still one more sort, of so odd a kind, described by Mr. Pennant, as having been in use even down to our own times; that I shall just add the mention of it.

"He observed," he says, || "in the Highlands of Scotland, not far from Invercauld, among the rocks, a sort of *projecting shelf*; on which had been, a kind of hut, accessible only by the help of some thongs fastened by very expert climbers; to which the adjacent family got in time of danger in former days, with their most valuable moveables."

These various instances tend to bring the history of all mankind, as it were, into one point of view: and to manifest how nearly the operations of human sagacity have resembled each other, though exerted in the most remote countries; whilst they were making their slow progression, from rude barbarism, towards civilization.

* See the description of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, p. 990.

† Martin's Description of the Hebrides, p. 154.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 63. || Ibid. p. 116.

10 On viewing the caves and dens which once belonged to the Britons, it is impossible not to call to mind; that after the defeat of the Canaanites by Joshua, "*five of their kings fled, and hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah. And it was told Joshua, saying, the five kings are found hid in a cave at Makkedah. And Joshua said, ROLL GREAT STONES UPON THE MOUTH OF THE CAVE, and set men by it for to keep them in. And slay you not; but pursue after your enemies.*" Nor can we forget the sequel: that afterwards, when he returned from the slaughter, Joshua sent and brought them out of the cave, and caused his captains to set their feet upon the necks of these kings; and slew them; and afterwards cast their bodies into the cave where they had been hid; and laid great stones on the cave's mouth.*

So again we cannot but recollect, that on first seeing Jonathan, and his armour-bearer, the Philistines said, "*Behold the Hebrews come forth, out of the holes,*" where they had hid themselves.

And in the mention so humbly made by Obadiah, many years afterwards, of his fear of God, and regard for his holy prophets, we find the same sort of hiding places referred to.

"Was it not told my lord, (said he) to Elijah, what I did when Jezebel slew the prophets of the Lord? how I hid an hundred men of the Lord's prophets, *by fifty in a cave*, and fed them with bread and water?"†

Again, the same sort of places of security are mentioned poetically by Isaiah, || as hiding places in time of any dread or danger.

"They shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty; when He ariseth to shake terribly the earth."

And to return to what passed in the still earlier ages of the world; we read; that in the time of the judges of Israel; "because of the Midianites, § the children of Israel made them *the dens which are in the mountains*; and caves, and strongholds."

And again, when the Israelites were terrified on the approach of the Philistines, "they did hide themselves** in caves, and in thickets, and in rocks, and in high places, and in pits."

* Joshua, chap. x. ver. 16, 17, 18, 19, — 22, 26, 27. + Samuel, chap. xiv. ver. 11.

† 1 Kings, chap. xviii. ver. 13.

|| Isaiah, chap. ii. ver. 19.

§ Judges, chap. vi. ver. 2.

** 1 Samuel, chap. xiii. ver. 6.

And it is very remarkable, that what our translation renders, in one place, *dens in the mountains*, and in another *thickets*, the Septuagint calls *αυτοῖς*; that is, *places designed as a shelter for cattle*; exactly conformable to the account that has been given, both of the British strongholds on the tops of hills; and of those in woods, as mentioned by Caesar.

Even so early as the days of Abraham, we find the remains of an army which had been beaten, flying to a mountain.*

And these sort of Fastnesses are spoken of, in the most sublime poetical language, by the prophets Jeremiah,† and Obadiah:‡ and as being the usual cities of the people of Edom; just as we find such were formerly the cities of the people in North Wales. To which we may add, that from the great number of cities said to have been in that small tract, the land of Og the king of Bashan,|| besides unwall'd towns; before the time of Joshua; we must conclude, those cities were only hill fortresses, and merely such sort of places of defence, as we have been describing. Places of defence, which yet are said to have *contained the cattle*; not only before they were taken by the Israelites;§ but also to have contained, and secured the cattle of the Israelites themselves afterwards.

Nor is the description of them, *that they had high walls, gates, and bars*, at all inconsistent with this idea: because the high steep mounds, surrounding the areas of many of the British fortresses, on the summits of high hills, most certainly both were, and might very well be called *high walls*: and the entrances through these, there is every reason to believe, were in times of danger barricadoed with rude gates, and bars of timber.

We may therefore further conclude, the expression in the book of Deuteronomy, of the cities of the Canaanites being *fenced up to heaven,*** to have referred rather to those cities having been placed (as indeed Tabor, Bethuliah, Hebron, and Jebus, actually were), on the summits of high mountains, and rocks; than as referring to any extraordinary height of their artificial banks and walls.

* Genesis, chap. xiv. ver. 10.

† Jeremiah, chap. xlix. ver. 16.

‡ Obadiah, ver. 3, 4.

|| Deuteronomy, chap. iii. ver. 4, 5,

§ Ibid. ver. 7, 19.

** Ibid. chap. ix. ver. 1.

The various sorts of fortresses we have been describing, are most exactly and curiously marked out by the words of the prophet Jeremiah; * threatening final destruction to the obstinately sinful, and disobedient Jews.

“Behold, saith the Lord, I will send for many hunters; and they shall hunt them; from *every mountain*; and from *every hill*; and out of the *holes of the rocks*.”

So again in another place, we read, “They that be in the *forts*, and in the *+ caves*, shall die of the pestilence.” †

When Samson had made a great slaughter of the Philistines, we are told, he went and dwelt *in the top of the rock* Etam; || where we find, afterwards, three thousand men of Judah went up to confer with him. And Josephus says § it was *a strong rock of the tribe of Judah*. To which may be added; that from the words used by the Greek translators, in the Septuagint version of the book of Judges, it should seem as if there was also a *strong cave* in that place; rendering it similar to a retreat in another great rock in Syria, not far from Damascus. In which latter, the Emir Faccardine, a fierce Arab, in the beginning of the last century, with a small number of his officers, defied the whole Turkish army, for some months; ** till they were on the point of blowing up the rock.

Whether such kind of caves were, in any country, usual appendages to these sort of strongholds, on the summits of rocks, and hills, I will not pretend to determine: but it is not a little remark-

* Jeremiah, chap. xvi. ver. 16.

+ Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii. ver. 27.

† Whether the celebrated cave, called *Elden Hole*, in Derbyshire, is to be numbered amongst the *Hiding Pits* of the Britons, together with those at *Crayford*, and that at *Royston*, I will not pretend to determine: because it might possibly have had another use originally, as a mere mine for obtaining ore. But its whole form coincides so exactly with the form of those caves; and it so perfectly agrees with those described by Josephus; that I am now much inclined to class it with *Hiding Pits*: and shall leave it to the curious to determine: referring them either to the inspection of the whole themselves; or to the account I gave of it, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LXI. p. 250, in consequence of the careful and accurate survey made of it by my friend Mr. Lloyd.

If it was really a British *Hiding Pit*; the having a well at its bottom, that went down to a river of fine fresh water, certainly gave it an advantage beyond most others.

|| Judges, chap. xv. ver. 8, 11.

§ Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, B. v.

chap. 8. sec. 8.

** Harmer's *Observations*, Vol. II. p. 224.

able, that at a small distance from the very antient fortress I first described (the Herefordshire Beacon), and on the very same ridge of hill, there is a singular cave formed out of the rock on the brow of an exceeding steep part; it is about 12 feet deep in length; $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; and $6\frac{1}{2}$ high: a place where one or two Britons, might for a long time have defied a great force, with the weapons then in use; and where a desperate man might even now make a considerable stand, considering the rapid declivity of the adjacent ground. Its situation is shewn very nearly by letter (*d*) Pl. I. fig. 1.

Just as Samson made his retreat to the rock Etam; so, when the greater part of the tribe of Benjamin were destroyed, by the fierce attack of the other tribes of Israel, endeavouring to obtain, in that violent manner, the execution of justice; those who escaped, to the number of six hundred, fled to the rock *Rimmon*,* in the wilderness; and abode in the rock *Rimmon* four months: which plainly shews, not only that this must have been an actual hill fortress, capable of containing all these men, with their tents, and cattle, and provisions; but also that it must have had a proper supply of water.

And to this observation concerning the rock *Rimmon*, it may be added, that whoever attends accurately to the descriptions of mount Tabor in Palæstine, and also of mount Bethaccerem, or Bethulia, as given by Pococke, and Maundrell,† will hardly forbear comparing those places instantly, in his mind, with the antient British fortresses we have been describing. Whilst indeed, like them, they seem continually, from age to age, to have been appropriated to just the same kind of use.

When the land of Israel was invaded by the host of Jabin king of Canaan;‡ and it was determined, at last, in consequence of the exhortation of Deborah the prophetess, to make a stand against them; the people assembled, and went up for that purpose to the

* Judges, chap. xx. ver. 45, 47. Chap. xxi. ver. 13. This strange and barbarous manner of enforcing the execution of justice in those very antient days, cannot but remind one of the same kind of rude practice existing amongst the Clans of Scotland in very late ages; even long after the use of their hill fortresses was antiquated.

† Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 42, and 64.

‡ See the Book of Judges, chap. iv. ver. 12, 14.

top of mount Tabor. And we are informed, that Barak sallied forth, and went down from thence to the battle, with ten thousand men after him.

Again; when the army of Nebuchodonosor, king of Assyria, threatened the destruction of Judea; we are told expressly,* that the people of Israel possessed themselves beforehand of *all the tops of the high mountains, and fortified the villages that were in THEM, and laid up victuals for the provisions of war.* Which description would exactly suit what we may believe to have been the conduct and management of the antient Britons, either with regard to Trer Caeri, or Penmaen Mawr, or Dinas near Landudno, when invaded by foreigners; or threatened by neighbouring tribes.

And with regard to Bethulia, we have a singular narration; wherein we find that Holofernes, having been told that the Jews had fortified the tops† of the high hills; and having examined Achior, one of his captains, who was an Ammonite, concerning their strength; was much displeased with the extraordinary account he gave; and did thereupon, in great wrath, and with much contempt,‡ send him fast bound, to be delivered up to those in Bethulia; that he might abide there, till that fortress should be taken by the Assyrians; when he should be cruelly put to death. The soldiers, who carried him, found great difficulty|| in devising to approach, because of the slings of the Israelites. They ventured however near enough to cast him down bound at the foot of the hill; and thereupon the Israelites descended from their city; and loosed him; and brought him up to their governor.

The description, given both by Maundrell, and Pococke, of mount Tabor,§ is; that it stands in the great plain of Esdraelon, apart by itself, about two or three furlongs within the plain;¶ and has so rich a soil upon it, as to be adorned with groves and clumps of trees. Its figure is nearly conical; and it is ascended by a winding path of about two miles. And on the south side, where the approach to the summit was rather more easy than on the other,

* Judith, chap. iv. ver. 5. + Ibid. chap. v. ver. 1.

† Ibid. chap. vi. ver. 6. || Ibid. ver. 12, 13, 14.

§ Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 64. ** Maundrell's Travels, p. 113.

there are many fosses cut. There are also some deep fosses on the north side. The plain on the top is about half a mile long, and near a quarter of a mile broad: being, as we learn from Maundrell,* of an oval figure; and inclosed with trees on all parts, except towards the south: which inclosure causes it to be in clear area only one furlong in breadth, and two in length. There are in this area a number of cisterns under ground; formed for preserving the rain water; and Maundrell informs us he found it to be good water.

Being a place of such vast natural strength, it was not only resorted to by Barak, in the time of the Judges of Israel, on the invasion of Sisera; but was in latter times, also made use of against Antiochus king of Syria (who besieged, and took it). And was again resorted to in the time of Vespasian; when it was fortified in a more improved manner, by Josephus, with strong walls.+

They were built, as that great Commander, and Historian, himself tells us, ‡ in forty days time: when he furnished the place also with many materials; and with additional water *from below*, because of the great multitude of people that were here gotten together. And we find, by the subsequent history, that it was impossible for the army of Vespasian to ascend the mountain; and that he succeeded, against these Jews, only in consequence of a stratagem, by means of which he first drew the Jewish army down into the plain, and then cut off their retreat.

Of Bethulia, the same curious traveller whom we have just cited, says, || “that it is a fortress very strong by nature; being a “single hill, and very high; § and the top appearing like a mount “formed by art. It is laid out in terraces on its side; the first “rising about ten yards above the foot of the hill, and having the “hill very steep over it. There is on one side a gentle ascent

* Maundrell's Travels, p. 114.

+ Vita Josephi, sec. 37. De Bello Jud. lib. ii. cap. xx. sec. 6.

‡ De Bello Jud. lib. iv. cap. i. sec. 8. || Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 42.

§ When we consider that the Israelites, on their first invading the land, were only a few years before come out from Egypt, where all the inhabited parts were flat and level; and even the cities were placed only on banks, a little higher than the surface of the waters at the time of the overflowing of the Nile; there is every reason to conclude, that these sort of fortresses must have appeared to them very tremendous and inaccessible.

"formed by art;* and on the south, where the hill is not naturally
 "so steep as in other places, is cut a deep fosse, to add a greater
 "strength. There was a double circular fortification at top, which
 "is of later date than the original fortress: and this stronghold has
 "been made use of even so late as in the time of the Crusades."

The magnificent and stupendous works of the Great Author of Nature, did most obviously dictate to the first inhabitants of the earth, in every country, almost uniformly the same modes of defence. And besides this, we may be assured, that those nations who in the most early periods had migrated into remote regions, and had thereby secluded themselves from the knowledge of improvements more rapidly made in the first civilized parts of the world, would still longer than others preserve the primæval customs, and the imitations of the first kind of fortresses that had been used.

Thus, amongst the Indians of South America, have been discovered Strongholds, of a very similar nature to the British. For Don Antonio de Ulloa tells us,† that one Indian method of fortification was, "to dig three or four ranges of moats quite round the
 "tops of such mountains, as though high and steep, were not subject to frosts; every one of which moats was strengthened by a
 "parapet (or bank), whence they could safely annoy the enemy.
 "These they called *Pucuras*. The inmost bank was always higher
 "than those which were outermost: and within this inmost bank
 "and its moat, they built their huts, or barracks."

These kind of forts Ulloa says were so common, that one scarce meets with a mountain without them. And in some he says, the outward moat of circumvallation is above a league in circumference. On the peaks of Pambamaca alone, there are three or four of these antient hill fortresses.

As to the continued use of such fortresses, in regions, near to those where the invention of them had its origin; we have a very curious instance of the attack and surrender of one, in Sogdiana, in Asia, in the time of Alexander the Great; related by Quintus Curtius.‡

* This ascent seems obviously to have been a zig-zag path.

† Ulloa's Voyage to South America, Vol. I. p. 503, 504.

‡ Lib. vii. cap. xi. ed. Snakenburgii, p. 557.

It seems to have differed from those British Holds we have been describing, only in this one circumstance, that a great cave, situated much below the summit of the hill, induced the inhabitants of the country to make a plain spot there their stationary camp, rather than the summit itself; which very circumstance occasioned the loss of the place.

The rock must, from the description given by Quintus Curtius, have been indeed exceedingly high; though we may very well suspect the measures named by him, as given in our editions, not to have been exact; and that there has been some error in the transcribers.

"It was," he says, "thirty stadia (or furlongs) in height, and
 "one hundred and fifty in circumference; being on all sides steep
 "and craggy; and accessible only by a very narrow path. In the
 "midway to the top it has a cave, whose entrance is strait and dark,
 "but by degrees grows wider; and further on has large recesses.
 "This cave also is full of springs, whose waters being united, as
 "they run down the rock, form a river. Here Arimazes, a Sog-
 "dian, had taken possession, with thirty thousand men all armed,
 "and had provided himself with necessaries for two years.

"Alexander, considering the difficulty of the enterprize, at first
 "resolved to leave it: but afterwards was seized with a violent
 "desire to get the better even of nature. To this end, after inef-
 "fectual treaties with Arimazes, he sought out three hundred of the
 "most active men in his army, who had been accustomed to feed
 "sheep in the most rocky countries; and encouraging these by a
 "promise of great rewards, induced them to attempt to scale the
 "mountain, in one of the steepest and least suspected parts, behind
 "the cave. Accordingly, having provided themselves with wedges
 "to fix in the clefts of the rock, and also with strong ropes, they
 "set about their work at the second watch; being furnished also
 "with provisions for two days, and armed with their swords and
 "spears. When they came to the steep part, some laid hold of the
 "broken crags to lift themselves up; others made use of ropes with
 "sliding knots, having fixed their wedges in the clefts to shift their
 "footing. Thus they spent the whole day in fear and labour; and
 "having surmounted great difficulties, they found still greater to

"overcome; and the rock seemed to grow in height. It was a dis-
 "mal spectacle, to behold those whose footing failed them, tumbling
 "headlong down the precipice, and by their sad example shewing
 "others what they were to expect. Notwithstanding all these dif-
 "ficulties, however, they made a shift to get to the top; having
 "lost only thirty-two of their number. Here they set up the signal
 "which they had agreed with Alexander to make; who, perceiv-
 "ing it, sent an officer to Arimazes again to demand his surrender;
 "and to shew him the soldiers who had gained the summit of the
 "rock above the cave. The Sogdian, who had before treated Alex-
 "ander with insult, and contempt, asking if his army had wings;
 "maintained the same haughty demeanour on receiving the sum-
 "mons to surrender: but when he heard all the trumpets sounding,
 "and the shouts in the Macedonian army, and was shewn, to his
 "utter astonishment, the soldiers of Alexander on the summit of
 "the mountain above, he was seized with extreme fear, not being
 "able to estimate what number might be behind them; and offered
 "to yield up the rock, on condition of having the lives of himself,
 "and of his men spared; and sent down thirty of the most consider-
 "able with these terms. But the king, incensed with the haughty
 "answers he had before received, refused to hearken to any capi-
 "tulation; trusting to his good fortune; although there was dan-
 "ger that the Sogdians might in the interim discover how few the
 "number of the men on the summit was; and might overpower
 "them, and cast them all headlong down. This resolution was not
 "without success; and Arimazes having descended with his rela-
 "tions, and the chiefest of his men, Alexander caused them first
 "to be scourged, and then to be crucified, at the foot of the rock."

Perhaps the bold adventure of Jonathan, and his armour-bearer,
 related in the book of Samuel,* may be considered, as having been
 something similar to this of the three hundred Grecians: for the
 garrison of the Philistines which those two valiant men attacked,
 appears to have consisted (according to our translation from the
 Hebrew), of twenty men encamped on the summit of a sharp rock;
 up the sides of which Jonathan climbed with great difficulty, and

* 1 Samuel, chap. xiv. ver. 14.

his attendant after him: and the spot on the summit, which was possessed by the garrison, is described as being only a small space, containing about half an acre of land; or as much as a yoke of oxen might plough.*

Many more instances of attacks of these sort of Strongholds might be referred to: which are interesting in the detail; but too numerous to be all inserted on this occasion. We cannot however pass by unnoticed, the famous rock of Dunbarton in Scotland; of which there was a scalado, even in modern times, not at all inferior to that by Alexander's soldiers: and especially as this was actually one of the very last posts held by the Britons against the Saxons; having been taken from them so late as the year 756, by Edbert, king of Northumberland;† and being mentioned by Venerable Bede,‡ as one of the best fortified cities the Britons had during his days.

Mr. Pennant describes it,|| “as being a two-headed rock, of a stupendous height, rising in a strange manner out of the sands, and “utterly detached from every thing else. Bounded on one side by “the river Clyde, and on the other by the river Leven. In an “hollow between the two summits, is a large well of water fourteen “feet deep: and the sides of the rock are immense precipices, “which often overhang.”

In very early times, Robertson says, the Britons had made§ this rock a fortress. “And, here in 1571, when it had for ages been no “longer a mere rude British fortress, but was defended with a strong “modern castle, a most gallant and enterprising officer, Captain “Crawford, in the dead of night, in the very part where the rock was

* I cannot forbear adding, as another proof of the constant use of Hill Fortresses in those days, that at the same time that this bold adventure of Jonathan is mentioned, we are told (1 Samuel, chap. xiv. ver. 22.) of certain men of Israel who had hid, or secured themselves in Mount Ephraim, and who, when they heard that the Philistines fled, came down and pursued them in battle.

† Hoveden, A. 869. ‡ Bede Hist. Ecc. lib. i. cap. 1. It was first called *Alcluth*; then *Brittanodunum*; and at last *Dunbarton*.

|| Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 228. And see also a view of it, in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. II. p. 141.

§ Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 13, 14.

" highest, scrambled up, and fastened the top of a long scaling lad-
 " der of ropes, to the roots of a tree which grew in a cleft. To this
 " cleft a small determined band ascended; and then a second scaling
 " ladder was fixed in like manner. But in the midst of this second
 " ascent, they met with an unforeseen difficulty: for one of their
 " companions was seized with some sudden fit, and clung seem-
 " ingly without life to the ladder. All were at a stand. It was
 " impossible to pass him. And to tumble him headlong was cruel;
 " and might occasion discovery. But Crawford's presence of mind
 " did not forsake him. He ordered this poor soldier to be bound
 " fast to the ladder, that he might not fall when the fit was over;
 " and turning the other side of the ladder outward, they mounted
 " with ease over his belly. Day now began to break; and there
 " still remained an high wall to scale. This, however, was also
 " scaled; the sentry was killed; the garrison running out of their
 " beds naked, to make a faint defence, were overpowered as fast as
 " they advanced; and this fortress, deemed impregnable even
 " when only a bare rock, with rude banks, was taken with all its
 " munitions, cannon, and stores."

A similar instance of an attack of one of these antient Rock For-
 tresses, in the country of Caux, in France, after its being also
 more strongly fortified in modern times, is mentioned in Sully's
 Memoirs.

The manner in which Fescamp was surprised, and recovered,
 in 1593, we are told* well deserved a particular recital.

" When this fort was taken by Byron from the league, in the
 " garrison that was turned out of it there was a gentleman called
 " Bois-rosé; a man of sense and courage; who making an exact
 " observation of the place he left, and having concerted his scheme,
 " contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had bound to his interest,
 " to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp
 " by the royalists.

" That side of the fort next the sea is a perpendicular rock, six
 " hundred feet high; the bottom of which, for about the height of

* Sully's Memoirs, Fr. ed. Vol. I. p. 301. Eng. ed. Vol. I. p. 344.

“ twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except for four or
 “ five days in the year.

“ Bois-rosé did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he
 “ could contrive to enter by that side which was thought inacces-
 “ sible. And this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to
 “ perform.

“ He agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers whom he had
 “ corrupted ; and one of them waited for it continually, upon the
 “ top of the rock ; where he posted himself during the whole time
 “ that it was low water. Bois-rosé taking the opportunity of a very
 “ dark night, came, with fifty resolute men, chosen from amongst
 “ the sailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had
 “ provided himself with a thick cable, equal in length to the
 “ heighth of the rock ; and tying knots, at equal distances, run
 “ short sticks through, to serve to support them as they climbed.
 “ The soldier whom he had gained, having waited six months for
 “ the signal, no sooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from
 “ the top of the precipice, to which those below fastened the cable ;
 “ by which means it was wound up to the top, and made fast to an
 “ opening in the battlement, with a strong crow run through an
 “ iron staple made for that purpose.

“ Bois-rosé giving the lead to two serjeants whose courage he was
 “ well convinced of, ordered the fifty soldiers to mount the ladder
 “ in the same manner, one after another, with their weapons tied
 “ round their bodies ; himself bringing up the rear, to take away
 “ all hope of returning ; which indeed soon became impossible :
 “ for before they had ascended half way, the sea rising more than
 “ six feet, carried off their boats, and set their cable a floating.

“ The impossibility of withdrawing from a difficult enterprize is
 “ not always a security against fear, when the danger appears
 “ almost inevitable. If the mind represents to itself these fifty men,
 “ suspended between heaven and earth, in the midst of darkness,
 “ trusting their safety to a machine so insecure, that the least want
 “ of caution, the treachery of a mercenary soldier, or the slightest
 “ fear, might precipitate them into the abyss of the sea, or dash
 “ them against the rocks ; add to this, the noise of the waves, the
 “ heighth of the rock, their weariness, and exhausted spirits ; it

" will not appear surprising that the boldest amongst them trem-
 " bled; as in effect he who was foremost did. This serjeant, telling
 " the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart
 " failed him, Bois-rosé, to whom this discourse passed from mouth
 " to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing
 " no higher, crept over the bodies of those that were before him,
 " advising each to keep firm, and got up to the foremost, whose
 " spirits he at first endeavoured to animate; but finding that gen-
 " tleness would not prevail, he obliged him to mount, by pricking
 " him in the back with his poignard; and doubtless, if he had not
 " obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the sea. At
 " length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got
 " to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day; and was
 " introduced by the two soldiers into the castle; where they began
 " to slaughter, without mercy, the centinels and the whole guard.
 " Sleep delivered up the garrison an easy prey to the enemy, who
 " killed all that resisted, and thus possessed themselves of the
 " fort."

We have here therefore, still further, an instance of the prodi-
 gious natural strength of an original Hill Fortress amongst the *Gauls*;
 whose every mode of offence, and defence, we are assured on the
 authority of the most celebrated contemporary historians, corres-
 ponded very nearly with the devices of the *Britons*. And we find
 here also, this primæval fortress continued in use, and strengthened
 with additional works, like Dunbarton, through a long succession
 of ages; and distinguished for its inaccessible situation, and sup-
 posed impregnability to the very last.

Just thus the late residence of one of the *Morattoe* Chiefs in
 India,* is represented to have been at a fortress called *Raree*, in the
 mountains of *Deckan*. A fortified mound of rocks, extremely high,
 and so steep, as but by one narrow path to be accessible to human
 footing; with this advantage, that the enclosure, on the summit, is
 large enough, independent of the stores accumulated there, to grow
 grain sufficient for the maintenance of a garrison; which however
 small the band might be, could with ease defend the rock against the

* It is mentioned, on report only, in Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I. p. 88.

greatest armies that could be brought to take it. Whilst, at the same time, all the passes and defiles leading thereto amongst the mountains, are both rugged and narrow.

We ought perhaps also to recollect, what is said* of a fortress called *Amba Geshen* in Ethiopia: that it is a mountain almost impregnable: every way steep, prodigiously high; and in form of a vast *natural castle* of stone. At the top it is about half a Portugal league in breadth, at the bottom near half a day's journey about: at first easy to be ascended, then steep and rugged; insomuch that the *Abyssine* oxen, that otherwise will clamber like goats, must be craned up, and let down with ropes.

As this little detail of these few curious fragments of history, is even *necessary*, to enable us fully to comprehend the true nature of these original Fastnesses, and Strongholds; so our remarks concerning them, should not be concluded without referring still further to the descriptions given us, in the Scriptures, of David's retreats from the pursuit of Saul. For they clearly shew, that some of his strongholds to which he resorted in his distress, with his band of men, most exactly resembled the antient British fortresses. And that, as these latter were continually in use, from the earliest ages of which there are any traces in this country, down even to the fifteenth century; so those in Palæstine seem also to have been used, from the very earliest time that the Canaanites dwelt in the land, and through all the period that the Judges ruled in Israel, down to the days of King David: as indeed they were also still further used, down to the time of Vespasian, and Josephus, and to the destruction of the Jewish state.

When David was in danger of being treacherously delivered up at Keilah, we are told,† that he and his men departed, and went and abode in the wilderness, in strongholds: and remained in a rock of a mountain, in the wilderness of Ziph. The name of this hill, or mountain, we find was Hachilah.‡ And like mount Tabor, it abounded with trees and wood. When David knew of Saul's design to search for him here, we read || (as the corrected translation in the

* Ludolphus's History of Ethiopia, p. 29.

† 1 Samuel, chap. xxiii. ver. 13, 14.

‡ Ibid. ver. 19.

|| Ibid. ver. 25.

margin of our Bible has it), he came down from the rock, and abode in the wilderness of Maon: which (from comparing together verse 24, and verse 19, and verse 14, of the twenty-third chapter of the first book of Samuel) appears to have been identically the same as the wilderness of Ziph, in the neighbourhood of Hachilah. And being thus come down into the low country, at the roots of this mountain (which like Tabor, and Bethuliah, seems to have been insulated); whilst Saul went on this side the mountain,* David and his men went on that side the mountain; and so escaped.

A second time also, we find† David making use of this stronghold. And then it was, that Saul, rashly attacking it, and encamping on the side of the hill, would certainly have lost his life; had it not been for the noble and generous temper of mind which David possessed, and for his great fear of God.

By the help of all these various illustrations; by means of such traditions as are still preserved; and from the very derivation of many of their names; we may now plainly, and exactly enough perceive, of what kind of construction the Fortresses of the most original British inhabitants of this country were. The very first efforts of human industry, and ingenuity, here exercised, to provide means both of quiet habitation, and defence.

And the account of these Hill Fortresses cannot with propriety be closed, without bringing to remembrance the *last* use made of them, by the unhappy primæval inhabitants of England, against the united arms of the Picts, and Saxons: when in these very fortresses, they were either taken by storm, and slain;—or starved into a surrender;—or compelled to lurk, a few miserable years, like beasts of the forest.

The words of the Venerable Bede,‡ concerning this dire catastrophe are,

“Nonnulli de miserandis reliquiis in montibus comprehensi
“acervatim jugulabantur: alii fame confecti procedentes manus
“hostibus dabant, pro accipiendis alimentorum subsidiis æternum
“subituri servitium, si tamen non continuo trucidarentur: alii

* 1 Samuel, chap. xxiii. ver. 26.

† Ibid. chap. xxvi. ver. 1.

‡ Hist. Ecc. lib. i. cap. 15.

“perstantes in patria trepidi pauperem vitam in *montibus*, silvis, vel
“*rupibus arduis* suspecta semper mente agebant.”

It will now tend in no small degree to perfect our ideas with regard to this matter; if we still further consider, that there are vestiges of many Hill Fortresses of a very similar kind, in the neighbouring island of Ireland.

They are there called *Raths*: and it has been very judiciously observed concerning them, that they are as falsely ascribed to the Danes, as the *Tumuli* in Ireland are.* Since there is positive proof, in the accounts of the life of St. Patrick, that they existed, and were found in Ireland, some centuries before the Danes ever set foot in that country.

And indeed the strongest advocates for any of them being the works of Danish invaders, do fairly after all confess, that as, on the one hand, tradition is now almost silent concerning these strongholds; so on the other, most of them must be allowed to have been so exceedingly antient, and to have undergone so many changes since their first formation; that it is at least very difficult to determine *what* their original really was.†

They‡ are plainly to be distinguished from such circular high mounts as were of a sepulchral kind, by their being constantly contrived with ramparts, ditches, or intrenchments round them, for the defence of those that kept within; whereas the sepulchral hills are not at all encompassed with works of this sort. To which it may be added, that although indeed these latter, like the fortresses, are round, steep, rising elevations; yet they are plainly, quite from the bottom to the top, mere heaps of earth and stone, cast up by hand; and raised from the surface of the earth itself; and wholly formed by art; whereas the fortresses, especially the largest, do owe their height more to their natural situation than to art, as being placed upon some mountain, or rising hill, having the intrenchments dug out of the hill on which they stand.

They are intrenchments thrown up *on the very tops of hills*: sometimes with two or three, but more frequently with a single

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 482.

† Wright's Louthiana, p. 11, 12.

‡ Molineux's History of Ireland, p. 208.

ditch. The word itself, *Rath*, also, signifying properly a *Surety*: and the *Rath* being uniformly allowed to have been the antient abode, or Castle of the old Irish Chief.

It appears, by a careful inspection of the remains of several, that in these *Raths*, the habitations of the Chief of the district, and his family, were constantly placed; consisting in general only of small buildings, constructed of earth and hurdles; or rather, having the lower parts formed merely like banks of earth, upon which they erected wooden posts covered with hurdles. They contained for the most part one apartment only; few had two; and the number of these separate huts in each *Rath*, as appears from the careful examination of very many,* was generally from four to eight; whilst the numerous lesser huts of the vassals, and of the country people assembling on any emergency, together with the cattle, were placed within a surrounding fence, lower down the hill. There was also belonging to several of these *raths*, a *cave*; where provisions were laid up, and where was a still safer retreat, in time of extreme danger. These caves are mentioned in the Icelandic annals;† and numbers of them have been continually discovered, either directly under the *Raths*, or near adjoining. And oftentimes there are found near the *Raths*; and especially in those parts where the vassals and inhabitants of the neighbouring country took up their abode, very small *tumuli* of earth, with each a cavity, or sort of *crater* at top, containing ashes. These were their *cuci*, or *koocky*; a sort of kitchens;‡ in which they dressed their victuals, by means of lighting a fire in the cavity, and then suspending on the top, with the help of wooden stakes, the skin of a cow, or other animal; into which, as it hung like a sort of bag, they poured water, together with the flesh; in the same manner nearly as was practiced by the Scots many ages afterwards.

A very curious plan and view of one of the most perfect of these *Raths*; that of *Ardscul*, about three miles from Athy, on the road to Dublin, in the county of Kildare, is given by Mr. Gough, in his

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 483.

† See Ant. Celto-Scandicæ, p. 14.

‡ There are good representations of two of these kitchens, in Gough's Camden, Vol. III. Plate xlii. fig. 1 and 2, p. 483.

additions to Camden.* The great ditch incloses an area of about one hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and ten wide, situated forty feet above the level of the country; which is now all around almost one entire bog, and was in antient times covered with an extensive forest. In this area appear the remains of the rude habitations of the chieftain, and his retinue; and there still exists a well.

Another curious *Rath* remains near Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare, called Cnoch Caellagh. It is surrounded by a circular intrenchment twenty feet wide, and ten high. On this some appearance of streets may be traced. And it was deemed so good a station, that even Oliver Cromwell is said to have encamped on it, in his way to the south.†

There is also a *Rath*, in which may be discovered the foundations of the small kind of buildings beforementioned, on the hill of Mullahmast, in the barony of Norrah, in Kildare county; near which are, as further indications of high antiquity, a round pillar stone; and a number of sepulchral tumuli: and near which a battle is said to have been fought, in the third century, between the Leinster, and Munster forces.

And another curious remain, that obviously appears to have been somewhat of this kind, is that on the top of *Sliabh Guth*, or Church Mountain, in the county of Wicklow; where is an immense bank of rude stones, inclosing an area, in the which is a well. For although there is now an idle tradition, that these stones were collected in the twelfth century, to build a church, or to pave a road; yet it manifestly appears from the plan and view given by Mr. Gough,‡ as well as from its situation and magnitude, that it must have been originally designed for a fortress.

But still more particularly for our purpose, by way of illustration, is a fortress in the county of Louth.

We there find, on the summit of a natural hill, near *Castle Town* (which seems to have taken its name from this very fortress), not far from Dundalk, a great mount raised to about fifty feet,

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III p. 483, and Plate xlii. fig. 2 and 3.

† Ibid. p. 543.

‡ Ibid. Plate xlv. p. 552.

surrounded with a magnificent ditch; and on the outside of this ditch (nearly in the same manner as at the Herefordshire Beacon), on the east, and west sides, are two plains, or lower camps, for cattle, and for fugitives; like a sort of redoubts; which are again themselves surrounded with a ditch; and, together with the mount, cover the whole summit of the hill; making a very formidable and grand appearance, for several miles to the north, and south.

Mr. Wright, in his Louthiana, has given a plan and view of this stronghold; * in which appears also a *stone pillar*, standing at a little distance. And though he ventures, in the outset of his description, to pronounce it to have been an undoubted station of the Danes; yet it plainly appears that he had not so good authority for such an assertion: as for his conclusion, *that perhaps AT LAST this became a royal or chief Danish station.*

It is very possible, the Danes might make use of it as a munition, after they had gotten it into their possession: but the stone pillar; the greatness of the work; and what has in the preceding pages been observed concerning the general existence of such kind of fortresses *before ever* the Danes had any footing in Ireland; may lead us surely to place its origin much higher.

As, however, on the one hand, the Danes might possibly make use of it in after ages; so it is also, on the other, much deserving our attention, as has been remarked by Spenser,† that these fortresses amongst the Irish, in still later times, became moreover places to hold assemblies, *to parley* about matters in dispute; and about wrongs between township and township, or clan and clan. And became a sort of *folk-mote*; as such kind of original artificial hill works seem subsequently to have done, about the Saxon æra, in various parts both of England, and Scotland.

Even when they ceased to be regular fortresses, these hills had their use; in being places to which the adjacent inhabitants of the country, in case of any sudden alarm, could repair with speed, and there remain safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater strength; as whosoever came thither first, even if they were but

* Book i. Plates viii. and ix. p. 7. † See his View of the State of Ireland. L'Estrange's edition of Spenser's Works, folio, p. 227.

very few in number, could, in consequence of the narrow entrance, and difficult access, easily rest safe, and defend themselves till succour came.

Somewhat similar to the fortress just described in the county of Lowth, is one near Down Patrick, in the county of Down, described by Dr. Molineux,* and of which he has given a curious engraving.† It is surrounded by three great ditches, and ramparts; and between that surrounding the foot of the mount, and the second next unto it, is extended, on one side, a plain, forming a lower camp; similar to the great lower camp in the preceding instance.

Dr. Molineux indeed supposes this to have been, a Danish camp; as Mr. Wright supposes with regard to that at Castle Town. But can any one who allows himself sufficient time to reflect, be satisfied with such a conclusion; or think that this was originally a Danish work? when there is no sort of positive authority for any such conjecture: and when, at the same time, we are informed,‡ that the Danes, in the ninth, and tenth century miserably defaced a church, in the neighbourhood; which therefore must have been built, by old Irish inhabitants, having full possession of this place, long before the Danes came hither; and when a large Remain, which must have been prior even to the Church, a great druidical *Cromlech*, on the top of a mountain near adjoining, shews that this spot was considered as a place of great distinction, long before any invasion of the Danes.

To these remarks, concerning the Irish fortresses, it may be added, that there are also still remaining, in several parts of Ireland, small mounts, on plains, and near rivers, surrounded with two or three strong ditches, including a small area round such mounts: and that such plainly appear to have been the private habitations of the little petty Chiefs, of the several subordinate districts; and are allowed, by tradition, to have been so.

Some of these are particularly described, and represented, in the Louthiana. ||

* In his History of Ireland, p. 208.

† Ibid. p. 212. fig. 10.

‡ Gough's Camden, p. 620.

|| See more particularly Book i. Pl. v. fig. 1 and 2.

And in the largest of them it may be observed, that on the summits, there is often a great hollow excavation; similar to the pits that have been already described as existing on the Combe Hills, in Surrey, and on Thetford Hill, in Norfolk. Hollow retreats, intended both for security, and for warmth, and shelter.

To return again, therefore, to our own country; before we finish our observations concerning these kind of strongholds; it may be added, as a very singular confirmation of all that has been remarked; that there is *no one* spot in this island, that tends more fully to illustrate the true nature of these exceeding antient, and aboriginal fortresses; than that which may almost be deemed modern, in comparison of the others we have been describing; and which we have still existing, in the hill called *Old Sarum*, in Wiltshire. A fortress which it is proper to describe nearly *last of all*; because it continued in use, even as an *inhabited city*, longest of all.

Here there not only was, as the whole form shews, and as is consistent with all tradition, and the most authentic histories relating to it, an antient, and original British Fortress; and afterwards a City; which was made a place of great strength, and inhabited under the dominion of the Romans; and which was taken at length by Kenric the Saxon, in 553. But after it had continued for many ages the residence of Saxon kings; this Stronghold was in the end converted into a Norman city, having a cathedral placed within its munitions; and having an high castle, on the summit of an inner mount, in its centre: and in this state it continued in full splendour, the occasional residence of Norman princes, till the time of Henry III. The stone walls of this Norman city were twelve feet thick, with twelve towers; and those of the castle above were stronger still.

Its original and singular peculiarity, as a *British Fortress*, could however never be obliterated, in all its successive changes; for *such* it most fully and plainly appears *still*; although every other mark of its greatness is obliterated: and of its Saxon, and Norman towers, and cathedral, no traces hardly remain; nor is there scarcely one stone left upon another.

Here, there is much reason to think, the Emperor Severus sometimes took up his abode. Here, unquestionably, dwelt many noble Romans; as is most evident from the coins of Constans, Magnen-

tius, Constantine, and Crispus, that have so frequently been found amidst its ruins.

Here King Edbert resided very much. And here King Edgar held a great council, in 960.

Here William the Conqueror summoned all orders of the kingdom, to swear allegiance to him. And here, from its cloud-capt towers, the haughty garrison of King Stephen poured down disdainful reproaches, and insults, on the city at their feet; whose inhabitants dared not, in those times, even to creep down further, to the bottom of the hill, to escape from their dominion.

Continuing as a city of such dignity so long, this place affords a decided proof, amongst others, that the apparent want of water in such situations, could be no essential objection to such spots being used as permanent habitations. For here dwelt a multitude throughout many ages; till, as civilization, and ideas of freedom increased, in the time of Henry III. the desire of avoiding the oppression and insults from the proud garrison above their heads, *rather than the want of water*,* induced the inhabitants to remove to the open plain beneath; where Bishop Poor began to build for them the present magnificent church of Salisbury: and to this place, even the very stones and rubbish of Old Sarum were by degrees conveyed; as the remains of Babylon were to Bagdat; and those of Memphis to Cairo.

Not having met with any representation or plan of this most remarkable stronghold, that appeared to me, on examination, to be truly accurate; I here subjoin the best I could form, on the spot; to convey more fully my ideas concerning it.

Pl. III. fig. 1. Represents a view of Old Sarum, as it appears at a distance. And

Fig. 2. Is a plan; as near the real form as I could discern by my eye, standing on the high mound surrounding the summit.

The letters of reference in both correspond.

* The unpleasant mode of being supplied only with rain water, in cities, was no uncommon thing in antient times. We find that in Galilee, in the days of Josephus, + the city of Jotopata, which was built on a precipice, having on all sides, except one, valleys immensely deep, and steep; was supplied merely with such water: there being no fountain whatever in the city.

+ De Bello Jud. lib. iii. cap. 7. sec. 7 and 12.

The whole is surrounded by a ditch at the bottom (*ffff*), and then by an high steep bank; the principal entrance being in a very singular manner by two narrow passes (*ii*) on each side of a most remarkable mount at (*g*), like a rude sort of horn work; which has a strong and deep ditch, and high bank, of its own, of the form in the plan.

There was also an entrance, or rather a postern gate, very nearly of a similar kind, only with its mount more rounded, on the opposite side of the foot of the hill.

Both these, however, were clearly of a somewhat later construction than the original British fortress. But having passed through these, we find, now remaining, what in almost every respect clearly existed before any Roman, or Saxon, or Norman additions were ever made.

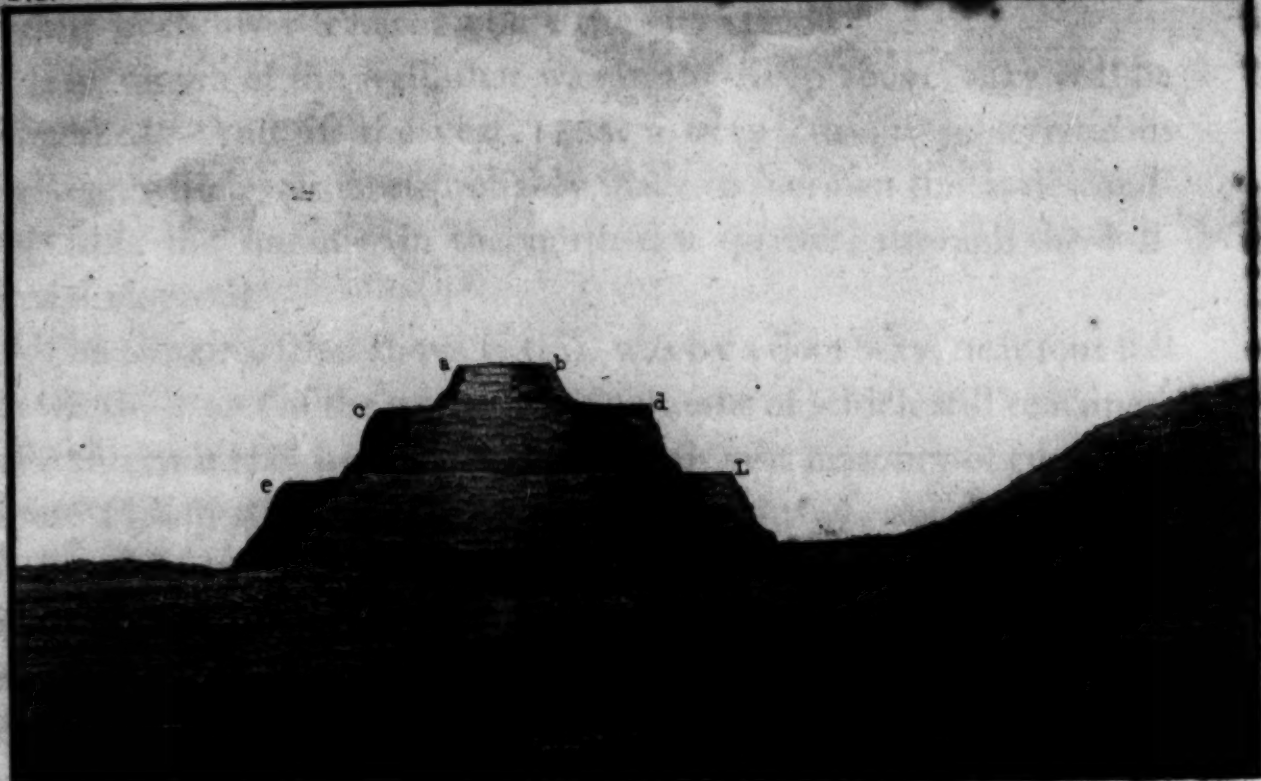
At (*el*) appears a plain elevated space (*hhhh*), which served throughout all ages for suburbs; and did here, in every sense of the word, most truly correspond with its name.

Within this was another deep ditch, surrounding the next or inner mount that formed the city. And over this ditch, after climbing the side of the mount, which ascends exceedingly high and steep from it, at (*n*) was the principal gate of ascent to the great plain (*cd*); which, in the earliest periods, served only to contain the cattle of the Britons, and mere huts of their fugitives; like the plains described on the Herefordshire Beacon; but afterwards was adorned with a regular city: wherein, in Norman times, the cathedral stood, nearly in the spot marked by the dotted lines, on the west side. To this city there was another gate of entrance at (*o*). The whole being divided by a ditch, running north and south, so as to secure one half, in case the other should be taken.

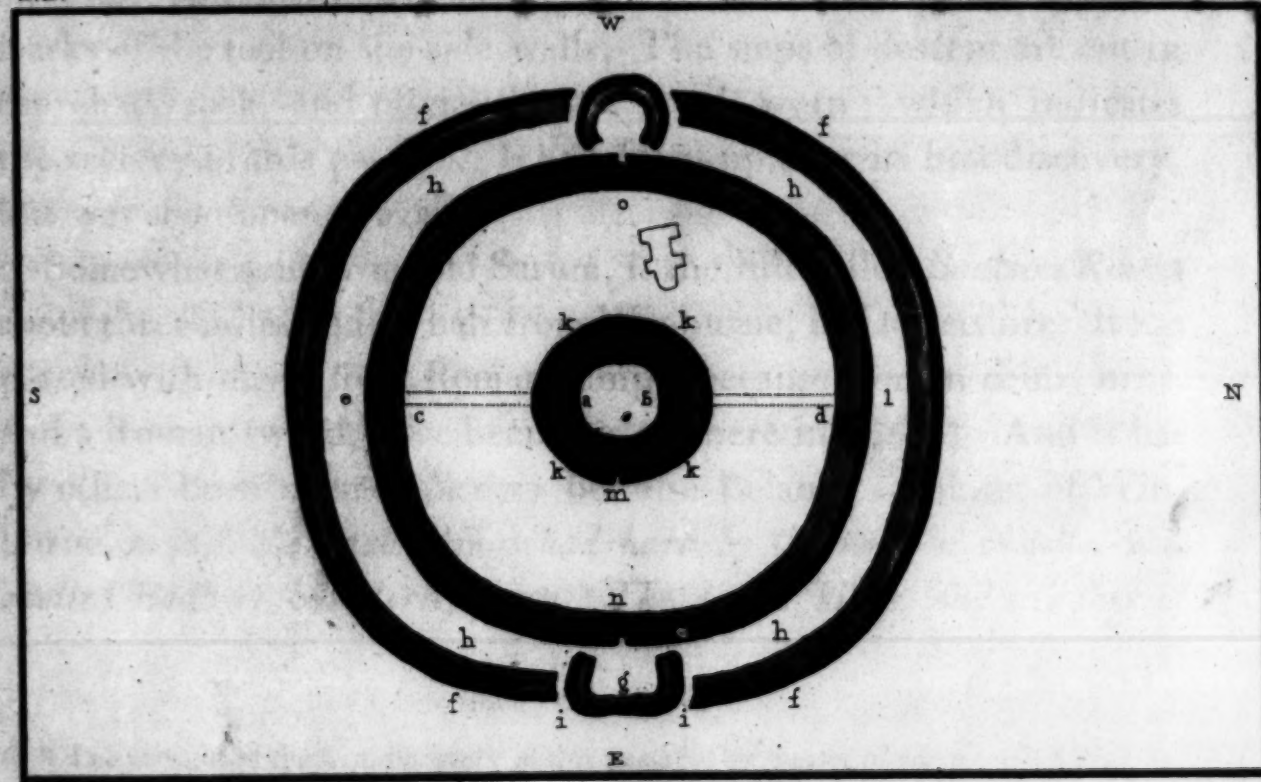
In the central part of this plain is another deep ditch (*kkkk*). Within, and from which rises very steep the higher part of the hill (*ab*); which was surrounded at the top, at first by a great mound; and in after ages by a strong wall: the ascent to it being through a narrow pass at (*m*).

Within this mound was the original British fortress (*ab*). And besides the contrivances of ditches and reservoirs to preserve all the rain that at any time fell *here*, on the summit, tradition says was an

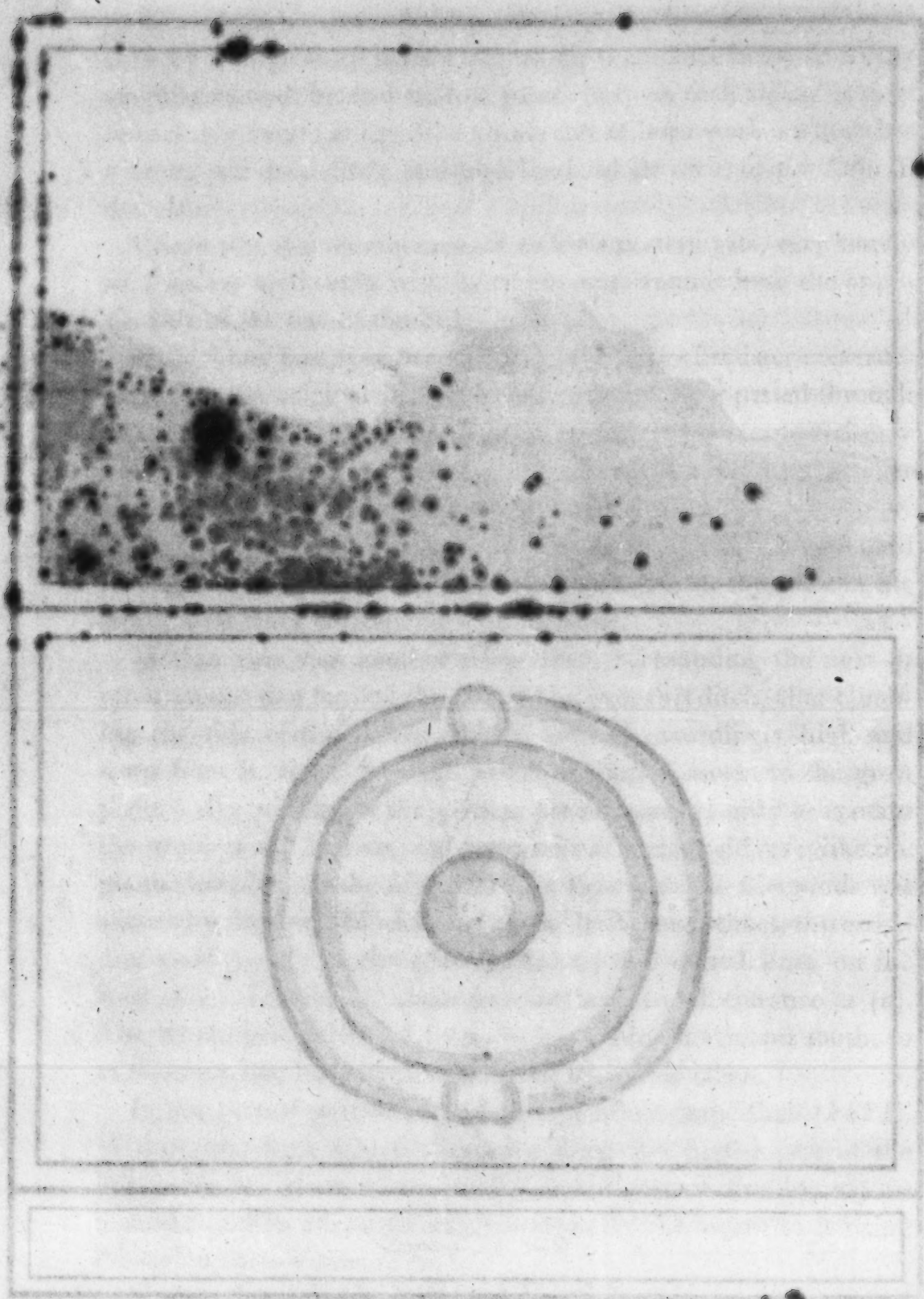
F.1.



F.2.



Old Larum



exceeding deep well; as there were also, in later ages, four others on the next lower terrace, where the city stood.

The mouth of the well, that was in the Keep above, may still be discerned. And in the year 1795, a very curious subterraneous passage, which was most probably made in Norman times, descending from the summit, in the north-east quarter, through the hill, was discovered.

The entrance from above to this, was by a door way, near four feet in width, (a part of the square stone columns of which still remained, of eighteen inches by twenty-seven, with neat masonry of good free-stone adjoining), and from hence a covered way, about seven feet in breadth, and from seven or eight to ten feet in height, descended in an angle nearly parallel to the glacis of the side of the hill, with regular steps, to the distance of one hundred and fourteen feet; but could not be traced any further, because of the loose chalk and rubbish that had rolled down to the bottom.* The arch over head is circular, and manifestly artificial. And there are also manifest marks of the tool on the side walls. The steps of descent are cut in the chalk rock, and obviously not much worn; which indicates the secrecy of this passage. It was filled up after its first discovery, but was soon opened again.†

Somewhat similar to Old Sarum, is the hill called *Badbury Rings*, about three miles and an half from Winburne, in Dorsetshire. It has passed with many for a Roman camp; because Roman coins, urns, and a Roman sword, have been dug up here in 1665.‡ And it has by others been deemed *Saxon*; because Leland, speaking of Winburne, says, || *the Saxon kings had hard by the toune a castelle, now caulled Badbyri, but clerely down. The diches, hilles, and site ther of*

* The account of the first discovery of this passage, by means of some earth falling in, was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXV. for 1795, p. 95. An additional account, and sketch, is added, p. 193.

† See also Vol. LXVI. for 1796, p. 185; where is a further representation of a neat little brass double cross, that was ploughed up on the lower bank, or ring.

‡ Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 53.

|| *Itin.* Vol. III. p. 54; and *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 46.

be yet evidently seen. It is remarkable, that he adds the words, now Conyes-borough; which name is well known to denote a royal residence.

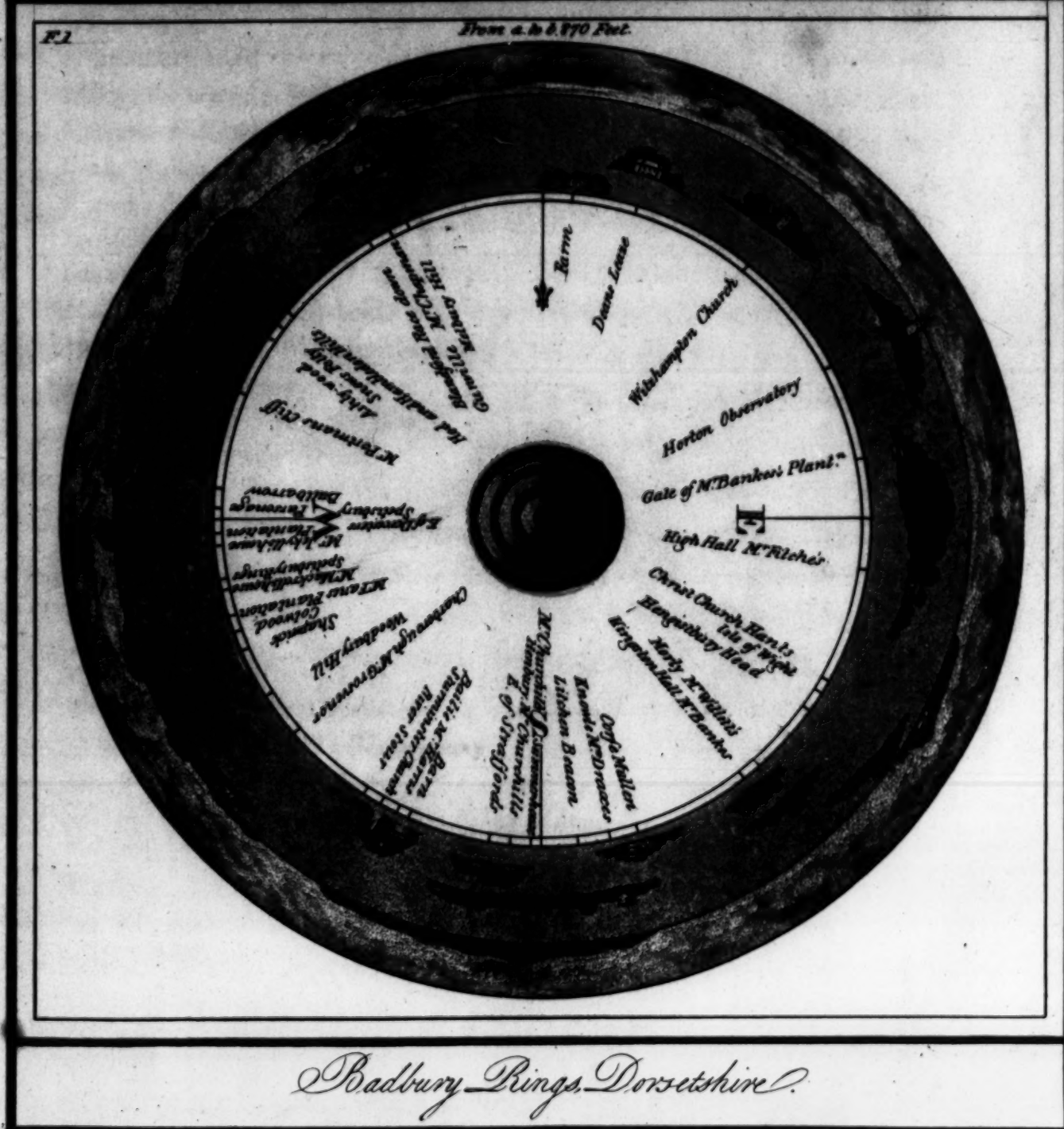
But though the Romans might unquestionably make this a station: as they unquestionably did make the same use of several other strong British posts: and though, from the advantage of its situation, the early Saxon kings might afterwards reside here; as its name, *Conyes-borough*, certainly imports, as well as its later name of *Kingstoun Lascy*, found in certain writings, as Leland tells us; yet its form, so unlike any thing that either Romans or Saxons ever constructed, shews it to have been originally truly *British*. And it is very remarkable, that another similar British post, in Dorsetshire, is seen from its summit; that a chain of such Hill Fortresses, within sight of each other, runs quite through the county; and that it stands on the very same Roman road that Old Sarum does, the Ikeneild Street; a road which probably was made to pass in this very direction, on account of the great strength of these two prior, and most ancient British Strongholds.

A representation of this interesting Remain, with which I have been favoured by my most ingenious and very curious friend, the well known Mr. Tiberius Cavallo, I have inserted, Pl. III: and the rather, because, by the aid of his mathematical science, he has given a fine illustration of the great extent of country which these sort of camps were made to command; and also the exact bearings of the several distant objects.

Hodd Rings, a sort of similar intrenchment, at ten miles distance; and *Hambledon Hills*, nearly as far off; and *Spilsbury Rings*, at four miles distance.

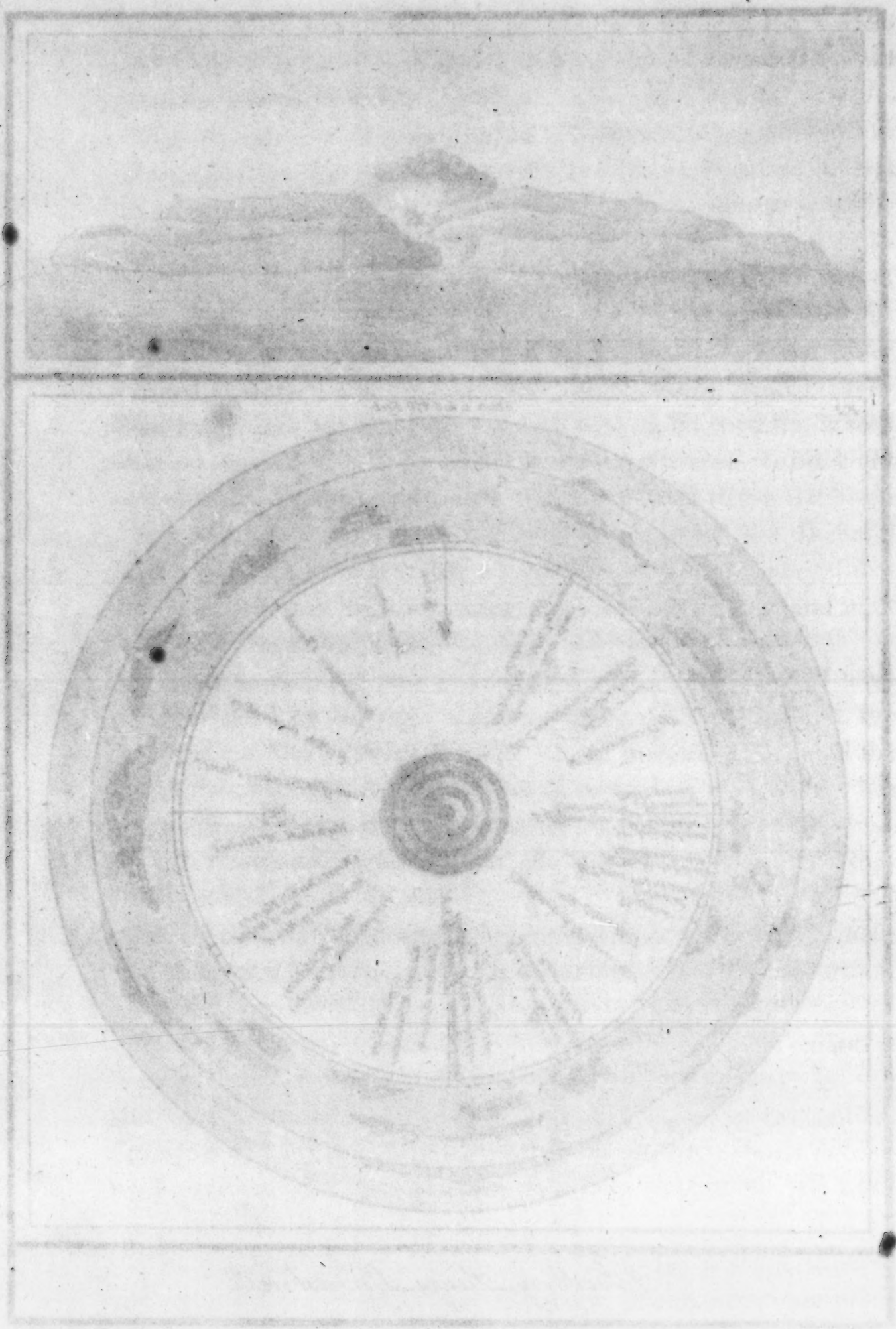
The whole circuit round the hill, and the extent of country, bounded by the clouds and the horizon, is represented, fig. 1.; and fig. 2. shews the appearance of the elevation of this antient Stronghold; where the conical hill, in the centre, appears to have been very probably somewhat increased in height, by the additional ruins of the Saxon castle.

The extent of the area above, from (a) to (b) is eight hundred and seventy feet. And for the satisfaction of those who are parti-



Ti^{do} Cavallo del:

I.C. Stadler Sculp.



cularly curious, Mr. Cavallo's list of the distances of all the objects, is added in a note.*

It is perhaps in this place, more than in any other, most proper

* List of objects seen from Badbury Rings, Dorset, with their distances from that place.

	Miles.
Dean's Leaze, a house belonging to Captain Bingham	2½
Witchampton Church	3
Horton Observatory	5½
Gate of Mr. Bankes's Plantation	6½
High Hall, the seat of H. W. Fitch, Esq.	9½
Christ Church, Hants	12
Isle of Wight	22
Hengistbury Head	18
Merly, the seat of J. Willett Willett, Esq.	4½
Kingston Hall, the seat of H. Bankes, Esq.	1½
Corfe Mullen	3½
Knowle, the seat of Mrs. Drax	4
Lytchett Beacon	5½
Isle of Purbeck	15
Mr. Churchill's Summer-house	3½
Henbury, the seat of W. Churchill, Esq.	3½
Earl of Strafford's seat	3½
Bailie Parsonage; Rev. Mr. Harris	3
Sturminster Marshall Church	2
River Stour	2
Charborough. Seat of R. Grosvenor, Esq.	4½
Woodbury Hill, a Roman camp	9
Shapwick	2
Colwood	5
Mr. Fane's plantation	5
Mr. Mackrell's house at Spetisbury	3
Spetisbury Rings, called a Roman camp	3½
Mr. Jekyll's seat at Spetisbury	3½
Earl of Dorchester's plantation, near Abbey Milton	10½
Spetisbury Parsonage; Rev. Thomas Rackett	3½
Plantation near Bull Barrow	10
Mr. Portman's Cliff, near Blandford	6
Ashley Wood	3
Snow's Folly	4
Hodd, and Hambledon Hills; called Roman camps	10
Blandford Race Down	5
Tarrant Gunville, the seat of Anthony Chapman, Esq.	6½
Melbury Hill	12

to take some notice of a little mistake, into which Mr. Grose seems to have fallen, in consequence of having drawn a general conclusion too hastily.

In the county of Galloway, in Scotland, at a place called Urr, he found a mount, or hill, with outworks, which on a small scale, does indeed very much resemble* both the mount at Old Sarum, and also that of Badbury Rings. It is called *the Mote* of Urr; and he understood, both from the meaning of the original Saxon word *Mote*, and also from the tradition of the country, that when Galloway was an independent state, this was the court where the Reguli, or petty kings of that district, held their national councils; and promulgated such new laws and regulations, as were found necessary from time to time to be enacted. And that it was also the seat of judgment, where their doomsters, or judges, tried capital offenders. And finding such another mount, or hill, appropriated to the same uses, at *Tinewald*, in the Isle of Man, he directly concluded, that wherever antient mounts, without buildings upon them, are found near castles of the later ages, that they never were any thing else than mount *motes*, or court *hills*; raised merely for holding *such assemblies*: not considering, that the very reason why they were *motes*, or *courts* at all, was merely that some great Chieftain, or Baron, once had his residence *there*; and that the *Baronial Court* accordingly attended upon the residence of the lord.

The foundations of the antient Keep towers, both at Old Sarum, and at Oxford, and elsewhere; and the uniform appearance of all antient British Fortresses, lead us most obviously to understand; that whether raised in British, or Saxon, or Norman times, they were all originally, according to the different modes of fortifying in those different ages, *fortresses*; and occasional Residences of Chieftains; from the very first. And that for this very reason only, *motes*, or *courts*, were held there.

Such another kind of old British Fortress nearly as Badbury Rings, is to be found in Annandale, in Scotland; and is called *Wood Castle*. It has even a strong resemblance to Old Sarum; and, like it, was unquestionably used afterwards as a Roman post.†

* There are two representations of it, in his *Antiquities of Scotland*, p. 181, 182.

† It is to be found represented in General Roy's *Military Antiquities*, Pl. viii.

And surely we may now, without any deviation from our subject, add, that one cannot reflect upon any of these very antient fortified abodes, and especially upon *Sarum*, in all the various periods of their existence, through so many successive ages; nor upon any of the aboriginal Hill Fortresses, and Strongholds on rocks, that from the earliest times have been devised in various regions of the earth; without perceiving most forcibly, the beautiful energy of those plain and simple poetical similitudes, so often made use of in the Psalms.

*Be Thou my strong rock, and house of defence: that Thou mayest save me. For Thou art my strong rock, and my castle: be Thou also my guide, and lead me for Thy Name's sake.**

O set me up upon the rock that is higher than I: for Thou hast been my hope, and a strong tower for me against the enemy.†

Be Thou my stronghold whereunto I may alway resort: Thou hast promised to help me; for Thou art my house of defence, and my castle.‡

We instantly see, in the clearest manner, on considering the kind of munitions described in the preceding pages, from whence it was that the Royal Psalmist must have taken his so poetical, and descriptive ideas of Safety, Strength, and Security.

And that he actually did do so, is still further confirmed by the words of the prophet Jeremiah, || when he says; *Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains: truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel.*

These Hill Fortresses, however, were sometimes turned into dens, for the mere support of plunder, and tyranny; and to this circumstance surely those words, also of the holy Psalmist allude, where it is said, § *Thou art of more honour and might: than the hills of the robbers.*

And how far these high hills, and strongholds, were, in some instances, from contributing to the peace and quiet of mankind, in latter ages, even in this country; although they were originally resorted to, as places of protection; is most feelingly represented by Peter of Blois, in his Epistles; ** who says, concerning this very fortress of Old Sarum, it was,

* Psalm xxxi. ver. 2 and 4.

+ Psalm lxi. ver. 3.

† Psalm lxxi. ver. 2.

|| Jeremiah, chap. iii. ver. 23.

§ Psalm lxxvi. ver. 4.

** Epist. civ. p. 165.

A place, that was open to the winds, barren, dry, and desert: wherein stood a tower, like that at Siloam, which oppressed the townsmen with the burden of long servitude.

And such as this, was, in reality, the origin of almost all the first enormous exertions of power on the face of the earth.

For such was at first, *Ecbatana*, in Media; which there will be occasion to mention more particularly hereafter.

Such was, in a degree, even the infant power of Rome itself.

And such also was originally, even the Acropolis at Athens; where Theseus assembled around him the scattered clans, and tribes of the Athenians. It was adorned, in later times, with superb buildings, by Pericles; but what its origin really was, will most clearly appear to any discerning eye, that has an opportunity to examine the fine and accurate drawings, made by Mr. Reveley, of the rock itself, in its present state.

The Acropolis, the summit of the insulated rock, was long the whole of the city; and was called Cecropia, from Cecrops, its founder. And when the city had extended all round its basis; *this*, which was become the citadel, was still only surrounded with wooden walls: insomuch, that so late as on the invasion of Xerxes, when an Oracle had advised the Athenians to defend themselves *with walls of wood*, some of them, instead of having recourse to their navy, thought they were only to enter the Acropolis; and (shutting themselves up there) to defend it.*

As to Rome, we read in Plutarch,† that the design of founding a new city being formed by the two brothers, Romulus and Remus; the latter of them at first laid out a piece of ground for that purpose, on the *Aventine Mount*, WELL FORTIFIED BY NATURE. Which description plainly denotes both the smallness of the scale of such a city, and the security intended, from its situation on a rock. And when Romulus had prevailed, by augury, and treachery, to have it seated on another spot; still the account of it is of a similar kind. It was only, at first, a *small square*; and afterwards a *circle*, including rude hovels; and surrounded by a ditch, and trench, and wall; the superstitious mode of constructing which, Plutarch fully describes.

* Syrianus in Herm. Corn. Nepos. *Themistocles*, cap. ii.

† In his *Life of Romulus*.

This was confined solely to the summit of the * Palatine Hill: and it was not till long after, that the Mons Coelius was first added by Tullus Hostilius; then the Aventine Mount in the time of Ancus Martius; and afterwards the Mons Janiculus. The Capitol not being reared on the Tarpeian Rock, till so late as the time of Tarquin the Proud, above two hundred years afterwards. So that the real cause of the great city of Rome, the mistress of the whole earth, being built upon *seven hills*, seems to have been simply, that its first inhabitants fortified the summits of *rock after rock*, for defence; just as they were able; till they had at last joined them all seven together. The Capitol itself, the glory of the whole, being on an high ridge, including about four acres, and ascended by an hundred steps.

And as, in illustration of the origin of the rude Hill Fortress of *Old Sarum* in this island, which afterwards became a city of the first distinction here, and continued to be such for so many centuries, I have ventured to mention both Athens, and Rome; so it deserves to be remembered, that even the city of David itself, the Citadel of Jerusalem, was originally nearly of the same kind. For the Jebusites, in the very first ages of the world, had fortified themselves so strongly on this natural rock, that although the Israelites took Jerusalem in the days of Joshua, they could by no means drive *them* out from their hill;† but the Jebusites continued fixed there till the time of David; at whom, when he attempted first to lay siege to this Stronghold, they scoffed exceedingly;‡ being persuaded that all his efforts would be in vain.

The manner of its being taken sword in hand by Joab, who first ventured to scale the ascent, is briefly told in two passages, which intimate the exceeding steepness of its situation. || And Josephus speaking of it in later ages, when it had been fortified by Herod, tells us also of its exceeding steepness; § and of the admiration which Titus expressed with regard to its strength, when the Jews had deserted it.

It was then called the Upper City; and was the last place to

* Livy, lib. i. sec. 6, 30, 33, 35.

† Joshua, chap. xv. ver. 63. ‡ 2 Samuel, chap. v. ver. 6.

|| 2 Samuel, chap. v. ver. 8. 1 Chronicles, chap. xi. ver. 6.

§ Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. vi. cap. viii. sec. 1. et cap. ix. sec. 1.

which the zealots resorted for security,* after the Temple was taken. It had been joined to the Temple by means of a bridge;† And had three strong towers, named *Hippicus*, *Phasaelus*, and *Mariamne*, built upon its old walls by Herod;‡ which towers were so exceeding strong and beautiful, that when Titus destroyed every other part of the fortifications of Jerusalem, he yet left these standing;|| after the Jews had at last of their own accord deserted them. And he declared openly; “We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war: “and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these “fortifications. For what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers.”§

Josephus says it was the royal palace; ** and that Simon dwelt in one of these towers.†† And speaking of the Jews deserting this fortress at last, of their own accord, he adds, “Thus did the Romans, “when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get, “by good fortune, what they could never have gotten by their “engines.”‡‡

From the manner in which Simon attempted to make his escape, it also appears that there were subterraneous caves, and private passages, hewn out of the rock, from the interior parts of this Stronghold. For we are told,||| “that he let himself, and those that were with “him, down into a certain subterraneous cavern, that was not visible above ground. And that as far as had been dug of old they “went onward along it. And then, as he had taken miners, and “those who cut stones with iron tools, and a great quantity of provisions for to support them, they proceeded where they met with “solid earth, to dig a mine under ground, in hopes they should “be able to rise from thence, in some safe place, so as to make their “escape. But when they came to make the experiment, their progress being slow, they at last emerged just where the Temple had “formerly stood; and so were taken by the Romans.”§§ Which

* Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. v. cap. x. sec. 3. lib. vi. cap. vii. sec. 1.

† Ibid. lib. vi. cap. vi. sec. 2.

‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. iv. sec. 3.

|| Ibid. lib. vii. cap. i. sec. 1.

§ Ibid. lib. vi. cap. ix. sec. 1.

** Ibid. lib. vi. cap. vii. sec. 1.

†† Ibid. lib. v. cap. iv. sec. 3.

‡‡ Ibid. lib. vi. cap. viii. sec. 4.

||| Ibid. lib. vii. cap. ii. sec. 1.

§§ On the mention of this effort of Simon's, to escape from the citadel of Mount Sion,

very curious fact at once explains the nature and use of those caves, and subterraneous passages, which are spoken of as being in several other *hill fortresses*; and at the same time proves, that such had been hewn out in the interior part of Mount *Sion* of old.

There is every reason to believe that *Adoni-zedek* dwelt in this very hill fortress, at the time when Joshua and the Israelites passed over Jordan.* And it is more than probable (notwithstanding the objection of Bochart, and of some other commentators, who apprehended Josephus to be speaking of the *Temple* at Jerusalem, instead of the Fortress) that the very first establishment of Mount *Sion* as a place of residence, might be, as Josephus plainly intimates, even so early as by the great and venerable person called *Melchizedek*, king of

by means of mining; I cannot forbear observing, that such art seems to have been, from the earliest ages, known to the Jews; and was made use of by them, in a most remarkable manner, on many occasions, during their last war with the Romans.

We are told,† that when they dared not to come to a plain open battle with the Romans, which was certain death; yet, through their mines underground, they would appear in the midst of them on a sudden.

And when the Jews were provoking and bringing on the war, one *Manahem*, the son of Judas the Galilean, and a leader of the seditious, not being able to attack Jerusalem by a regular siege, caused a mine to be dug, from a great distance, and carried under one of the towers; where they left the tower supported only by wooden props; they then set fire to these wooden props, and foundations, that supported the rest; and in consequence of this, the tower fell down suddenly.‡

Again; when the Romans were attacking the tower of *Antonia*, after they had raised four great banks, or mounds, to carry on their operations; and when their great engines of attack were brought upon them; *John* (the other great leader of the seditious, beside *Simon*) had, from within, undermined the space that was over against the tower of *Antonia*, as far as the banks themselves; and had supported the ground over the mine, with beams laid across one another. Then he ordered such materials to be brought in as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen; and set them on fire. And as the cross beams that supported the banks underneath were burning, § the banks (or mounds) were shaken down, and fell into the adjacent ditch with a prodigious noise. At first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were gradually consumed, a plain flame broke out. On which sudden appearance, a consternation fell upon the Romans; and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them.

* Joshua, chap. x. ver. 1.

† Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. i. cap. xviii. sec. 1.

‡ Ibid. lib. ii. cap. xvii. sec. 8.

§ Ibid. lib. v. cap. xi. sec. 4.

Salem, * who was probably neither more nor less than the patriarch *Shem*.† And that it afterwards fell into the hands of the Jebusites; who probably were the remains of the very shepherds that were driven out of Egypt, and mistaken by Manetho for the Israelites.‡

Other hill fortresses, in the land of Canaan, are described as being nearly of the same age. For Josephus tells us, || that Hebron was a more ancient city even than Memphis in Egypt. And we read, in the book of Numbers, that it was built seven years before *Zaan*.§ It was before the days of Joshua called *Kirjath Arba*, or the city of *Arba*, the father of *Anak*,** and was the residence of the celebrated giants.¶

The vale of Hebron where Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, originally dwelt, was at its foot, and nigh unto it; ++ as was also the cave where Sarah was buried. ††

And it was, as a place of the greatest strength of any in the country, the fortress where king David went to reside, before he had the opportunity of residing in Mount Sion. ||||

It was the place also to which Absalom resorted, when he rebelled, and set himself up to reign instead of his father. §§ And was afterwards rebuilt, and strengthened with additional fortifications, by *Rehoboam*.***

And whilst we mention these hill fortresses, in the land of Canaan, there is, with regard to them, one very remarkable passage in Sacred Writ, where the translation in the Septuagint flings the greatest light (as it does in several other instances) upon descriptions, which as they stand in our present English translation, though it be so exact and excellent in all more material points, yet are almost quite unintelligible.

* Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. vi. cap. x. sec. 1.

+ The fine situation of this city of David, Mount Sion, is most admirably well represented in a curious drawing, on a large scale, by Mr. *Miers*, which is in the possession of Sir Robert Ainslie.

‡ See a passage in Josephus against Apion, which may best be explained on this supposition, lib. i. sec. 26.

|| De Bello Jud. lib. iv. cap. ix. sec. 7.

§ Numbers, chap. xiii. ver. 22.

** Joshua, chap. xv. ver. 13.

++ Genesis, chap. xxxvii. ver. 14. †† Ibid. chap. xxiii. ver. 2, 17. chap. xxxv. ver. 27.

||| 2 Samuel, chap. ii. ver. 1.

§§ Ibid. chap. xv. ver. 10.

*** 2 Chronicles, chap. xi. ver. 10.

The passage referred to is in the Book of Joshua,* wherein we read what no one can possibly understand, as it is there translated; as follows:

But as for the cities THAT STOOD STILL IN THEIR STRENGTH, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn.

In the margin of our Bibles, indeed, the reading is somewhat amended by substituting the words, *the cities that stood on their heap*: Even this expression, however, is still difficult to be comprehended. But, in the Septuagint, the whole is fully explained. For there the words are,

τὰς πόλεις τὰς κειρατισμένας,
that is, *the cities that were built, or situated, on pointed hills, or on mounts*; which expression clearly conveys to our minds the idea of these very kinds of aboriginal hill fortresses, which we have been describing.

Those who duly consider how closely mankind resemble each other, in manners and customs, in the first dawnings of society, and in the beginning and origin of all nations; and even afterwards during their continuance in any degree in an uncivilized state; and how curious it is to trace the similarity of usages, and resources for the defence and convenience of life, from the parts of the earth first inhabited, and which first made approaches towards civilization, down to those latest cultivated; will perceive the necessity of these digressions, in the outset of these observations, on the interesting Military remains of antiquity in Great Britain.

In truth, the original idea even of any city at all, amongst the primæval Celtes, seems, in all regions of the world, to have implied nothing more than a mere *Circumvallation*, for the security of an assemblage of huts, or tents, or dwellings of any kind: and did not necessarily carry with it the intimation of the existence even of a tower; and much less of any regular house, or palace.

And hence we may easily account for the vast number of cities, which are by Homer, and in the most antient histories, mentioned to have been built by mere *emigrants*; and finished in so very short a space of time.

Hence also we may very easily account for what is said in the

* Chap. xi. ver. 13.

Mosaic writings, of Cain's having built a city; under such strange circumstances as attended him.*

And hence also we may perceive, why such particular notice is taken, when a town, or city, really had the addition of a Tower; as in the case of *Thebez*.†

After having thus endeavoured to form a clear idea of the nature of the fortresses, and of the mode of habitation of the antient Britons; we cannot but wish to obtain, as far as is possible, some little conception of the appearance of their persons, and of their manners.

Cæsar says, the inhabitants of Kent were the most civilized of any; and the most nearly resembled the natives of Gaul. For the inhabitants of the interior parts of the island, according to his account,‡ were so utterly unacquainted with the conveniences of life, that they did not even sow any corn at all, but lived entirely upon milk, and flesh.

All the Britons painted themselves more or less (*vitro*) that is, according to the apprehensions of the best commentators, with woad, of a bluish colour, in order to render themselves of a more formidable appearance in battle. And *Herodian* affirms, that some of them, || on the sea coast, punctured their bodies (*σικκονταί*) with figures resembling various kinds of animals; in consequence of which they also went without garments, that they might not cover or conceal those indented representations; which we may observe must have been very nearly of the same kind, as to the manner in which they were impressed, with the marks made by *tattooing* in the South Sea Islands.

They had long lank hair; but were shorn in every part of the body, except the head, and upper lip. And excepting the persons just mentioned, they were, in general, clad with skins.

To this, which is the substance of the account given by Cæsar, Strabo adds,§ that many of the inhabitants were so rude, and un-

* Genesis, chap. iv. ver. 17.

+ Judges, chap. ix. ver. 50, 51.

† De Bello Gallico, lib. v. sec. 10.

|| Herodian, lib. iii. sec. 47. Solinus,

lib. xxxv. Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. sec. 14. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxii. cap. 1.

§ Strabo, lib. iv. p. 200. Par. ed.

skilful, as neither to be able to make any cheeses, although they had plenty of milk; nor to cultivate *pot herbs*; or to use any kind of tillage of the ground whatever.

Their wretched black substitute for salt also, was obtained merely by pouring sea water on the embers of burning wood.* And with this they, or at least the neighbouring Irish, are said, in some instances, to have devoured human flesh,† and to have drank the blood of animals, and even of their enemies.‡ And it must be confessed, that the barbarity and horrid customs of some barbarous nations, lately discovered, render these accounts too probable, however questionable the authority of the authors who relate them may be.

But though there were such instances of barbarity in some parts, yet this wretched savage state was not universal: and with regard to their Druids, we may infer, from Strabo's account of those in Gaul, whom they so nearly resembled, that this order of men were even richly clad; and that some of them even wore golden chains, or collars, about their necks and arms; and had their garments dyed with various colours, and adorned with gold.¶

Chains also, both of iron, and gold, appear to have been worn by some of the chieftains, and noble personages. §

And from his account of the common people in Gaul, and of the intercourse the Britons had with them, and of the close similarity of their customs,** we may conclude that some of the common order of Britons, instead of the rude skins of beasts, wore very thick coarse wrappers made of wool; which must plainly have been a sort of blankets, or rugs, fastened about the neck with a little sharp pointed piece of stick. They wore also a coarse slit short vest, reaching down barely to the thighs, with sleeves.†† Whilst, for weapons, and armour, they had a long two-handed sword, hanging

* Taciti Annales, lib. xiii. cap. 57; Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xiii. cap. 7; Varro de Re Rustica, lib. i. cap. 3. † Strabo, lib. iv. 198—p. 302; Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cap. 32. 214—p. 355. ‡ Solinus, cap. 35. p. 166. ed. Basil.

¶ Strabo, lib. iv. 197—p. 302.

§ Taciti Annales, lib. xii. cap. 36; Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 47; Polyb. lib. iii.

Tacitus Vita Agric. cap. 11.

** Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. sec. 12;

†† Strabo, lib. iv. p. 196—300; Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 14.

by a chain, *on the right hand side*; a great long wooden shield,* as tall as a man; long spears; and a sort of missile wooden instrument like a javelin, longer than an arrow, which they darted merely by the hand; (both of which latter, seem plainly to denote two different sorts of those kind of weapons, called *Cettes*, fixed at the end of staves and sticks) and some of them used slings for stones. There were amongst them also those who had breastplates made of plates of iron, with hooks, or with wreathed chains; and such as had helmets also of different fashions: but some went into the field of battle nearly quite naked,† who probably were *those* mentioned by Herodian, whose bodies were punctured with figures resembling various animals: and who had sometimes wreathed chains of iron about their necks and loins.‡

They generally lay and reposed themselves, on the bare ground; yet most of them ate their food sitting on seats.

And they had a particular species of dogs, most excellent for hunting; and so fierce, that the Gauls made use of them in war. ||

From these accounts compared together, and duly weighed, we may venture to represent to our imaginations some tolerably adequate idea of the appearance which the antient Britons must have made.

And, in order to convey such whole complex representation in the readiest mode to others, just as it presents itself to my own mind, I shall venture to add, in Pl. $\frac{iii}{3}$, a group of figures; which (as

* Strabo, lib. iv. 196—p. 301; Diodorus, lib. v. p. 213—353; Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, cap. 17; Clur. Germ. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 16; Pelloutier Hist. Cel. lib. i. p. 301. These rude rugs, or blankets, thus pinned about the shoulders, were manifestly the old aboriginal patterns of dress, from whence, in more refined times was derived the *plaid*, afterwards fastened with the rich embossed broach, so well known to our modern antiquaries. As to the vest, it was clearly seldom used by the common people, and appears to have been the better sort of cloathing; it had at first sleeves covering only the arms, but afterwards they were made reaching down to the wrists. Strabo, lib. iv. 196—p. 300; Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cap. 30. 213—p. 353; Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, cap. 17; Clurvius German Antiq. p. 114. We have reason to believe also, that these rude garments which covered them in the day, were the only covering they had in the night. (See Clur. Germ. Antiq. p. 119.) Which circumstance is the more credible, when we reflect that the polite nations of Asia, as described by Homer, had frequently no other resource to secure them from the inclemency of the night air.

+ Diodorus, lib. v. 213—p. 353.

‡ Herodian, lib. iii. sec. 47.

|| Strabo, lib. iv. 199. Par. ed. p. 305. Amst.

they will appear with more meaning and animation, when supposed to be engaged in some transaction, than if they were drawn singly and unemployed) are arranged, in a manner descriptive of a celebrated scene in the *Caractacus* of our excellent poet Mason.

Elidurus, and Velinus, are represented as brought by the British attendant soldiers into the presence of Caractacus, who was, at that time, concealed in the sacred recesses of the Druids; and just at the instant when he was about to consult their *Vates*, and they were preparing to begin some of their most solemn rites and ceremonies. Caractacus is represented as standing in the midst, dressed according to the preceding descriptions of the garb of the more civilized Britons; and before him are Elidurus, and Velinus in a garb of the same kind. The soldiers are one of them clad with skins, as was usual amongst the inferior classes; and one of them has the long broad sword; and another the sling; they have also the long shields so particularly mentioned; and one of them appears quite naked, and tattowed; according to Herodian's description. Near them also is placed a large dog, that the circumstance of their making use of such in battle may not be forgotten. The idea of the dress of the chief Druid is made to conform, as much as possible, to that of the figure given by Rowland; and in the dresses and garments of the others, in conformity to the description given by Strabo, some of their mantles are represented as striped, and of various colours; and they have golden chains, and chains of beads, on their necks and arms. One of them also has the golden hook, for cutting the misletoe: and the wand, or rod also; and the Welsh harp are introduced; consistently with what is said of their having been unquestionably in use in this most early period; when no ceremonies of divination could be performed without the one; nor any religious worship without the other.

The golden hook, however, is here represented, according to the usual idea, as a flat sort of curved sickle; but whether that is perfectly right, there have been some doubts: both because the misletoe might perhaps better be *torn* down, with an hooked instrument; than *cut* down. And because, about the year 1795, in Cornwall, there was actually dug up from the depth of sixty feet below the surface, in searching for a new tin mine, between Fowey and Lost-

withiel, a curious long slender hook of hard metal, covered with a substance resembling gold, and chased, in part, like a snake's skin; and having a regular handle; at the end of which a fine piece of amber was well set: which pointed hook, if it might be deemed strong enough, seemed well adapted to the tearing and pulling down of mistletoe from the oak. This instrument, which is in the possession of Philip Rashleigh, Esq. on whose estate it was discovered, is above a foot in length. And, whilst the great depth at which it was found buried, shews its high antiquity; the niceness of the workmanship of its coated ornament, and of the setting of the amber, shews it must have been an instrument of great importance: and a little round eye, or loop, just below the handle, shewed that it was worn as a badge of dignity. Its form is represented of the real size, Pl. *fig. 1*. But it ought to be mentioned, that some doubts have been entertained of the sufficiency of its strength, as well as of its having been once straight; and of its having been either a divining rod; or even a mere pin for a garment. To degrade it to the latter use, however, it must be considered, notwithstanding its good workmanship, as a very awkward ill contrived implement; which we can hardly suppose a thing of such nice and elegant construction, to have ever been.

Leaving therefore its precise use undetermined; but being assured it was a British instrument of some sort, (very possibly to assist in the inspection of the intestines of sacrificed victims,) we will go on with the explanation of the Plate.

In the landscape behind the figures appears, in front, the Druid Oak; with mistletoe growing upon it: not far off stands a *Cromlech*, or altar: on one side, at a distance, is seen a Druidical circle, with huts or cells of the Druids near adjoining: and on the other side at a greater distance in the perspective, and as it were through a long drawn glade, or vista, is seen a *rocking stone* on an hill.

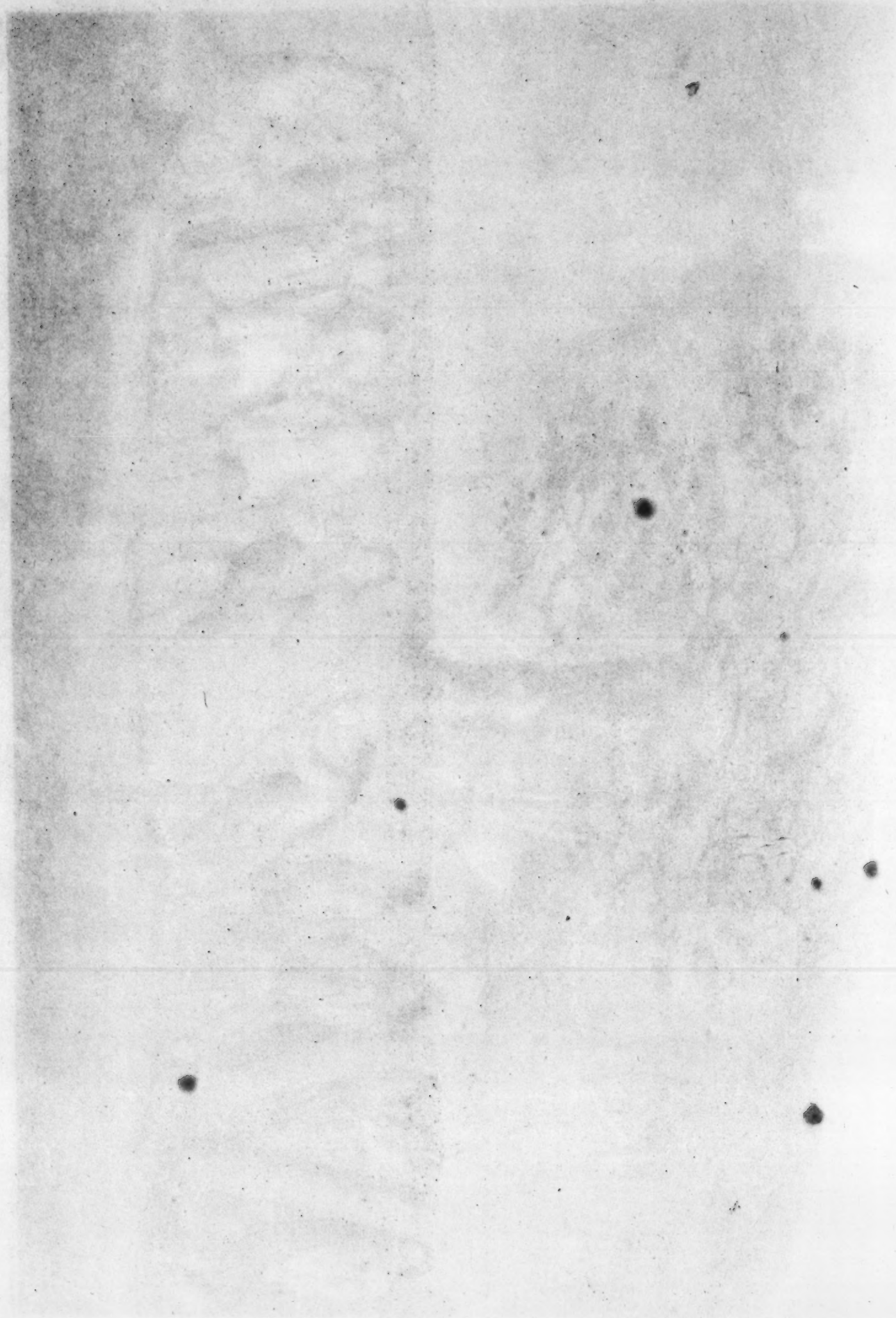
The learned Sammes, in his *Britannia*, has given us the representation of a Druid, p. 101, from some antient statues dug up at

* Since this drawing was made, another has also been taken, and engraved in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XII. p. 414, Pl. LI. fig. 8; but yet this is here inserted because it is rather more exact, and in better proportion; as I am well able to ascertain, from having had the instrument some time in my custody.



Arms & Habits of the Ancient Britons.

Published by G. H. & Co. 1841.







Wichtelberg in Germany: and the same idea of their appearance seems to have been followed by Rowland in his *Mona Antiqua*.* But as some doubts may arise, concerning the supposition of these Statues having been properly the representation of *British, or Gaulish Druids*; because of the place where they were found: so it has been remarked by the celebrated *Selden*,† that the garb and representation does not, in all points, agree with what is described by *Cæsar*, and *Strabo*, concerning their golden ornaments; dyed garments; bracelets; and the mode of shaving of the generality of the Britons: and therefore I have ventured to make such deviations, as are consistent with the accounts of antient authors.

|| Sammes also gives us ‡ a representation of an inhabitant of the *Scyllies*; whose garments were black, and longer than those of the other Britons: but neither the form of the garment, nor the appearance of the hair, seem justly to agree with the description of *Diodorus*. And still much less authority is there for his representation of *Queen Boadicea*. || These therefore are not attempted to be here copied.

¶ Having in the preceding description represented the long wooden shield so particularly, amongst other accoutrements of the British soldiers, I cannot forbear to observe, that although no such usage can be presumed to have taken place amongst the more rude Britons; yet that even in *their* time, and age, the use of *armorial bearings* seems clearly to have been introduced amongst the *Gauls*.

For *Diodorus*, describing the long shields of the Gauls, which we have just referred to, says, they were περιειλημένοις ἰδιότροπως, *varied with particular marks, or colours, properly belonging to each individual person*. § Which perfectly accords with what *Tacitus* says, concerning the Germans: *that they distinguished their shields with the most nicely chosen colours*. “*Scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt*.”** Who at the same time mentions the disgrace of losing these shields, in nearly the same terms that a Norman Knight would afterwards have spoken concerning the reversal, or breaking, of the coat armorial, as a punishment for dishonourable military conduct.

* Page 65.

† *Janus Angl. lib. i. p. 32.*

‡ In his *Britannia*, p. 117.

|| Page 229.

§ *Diodorus, lib. v. 213—p. 353.*

** *Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, sec. vi.*

“*Scutum reliquisse, præcipuum flagitium: nec aut Sacris adesse, aut
“concilium inire, ignominioso fas: multique superstites bellorum, infamiam laqueo finierunt.*”

On a little reflection it plainly appears, that as there are no more than seven colours, besides white, and black; and no great number of clearly distinct shades formed by the composition of them; the numerous families, or tribes, of the Gauls, and Germans, could not well be distinguished by colours alone, without the addition of various forms, and figures. And if various forms and figures were added; we have then the very essence of *armorial bearings*, in the strictest sense of the words; and may plainly perceive, that *coats of arms* were actually used, both by Gauls, and Saxons; and, as well as the ground work of our laws, and constitution, were brought from the forests of the north. We may perceive also, that the tradition concerning the *Saxon* standard of the *White Horse*, the memorial of which has so long been preserved in Berkshire, does by no means deserve to be considered as fabulous. Whilst unquestionably, the common opinion concerning the use of *armorial bearings* having been *first* introduced in the time of the *Croisades*, to distinguish the Chieftains, and their followers, in battle, seems, on other accounts, to be without any good foundation: as we can hardly conceive why such distinctions should have been then *first* thought of, or deemed at all more important in that war, rather than in long preceding expeditions, and undertakings, during the greatness of the Roman empire; when full as many different nations were often embattled on one plain.

Indeed it seems manifest, even from the sculpture on the celebrated columns of Trajan, and Antoninus at Rome, that *armorial distinctions* were, in the days of those Emperors, in full use, both amongst the Romans, and amongst many barbarous people.

For in Bartoli's fine engravings of Trajan's pillar, representing the events of the Dacian war, and of the expedition against Decebalus, we find different varieties of bearings in no less than thirty-one* different plates; besides many repetitions of the same devices, denoting persons of the same clan, or troop.

* See, besides the ornaments of the square pedestal, Pl. VIII. fig. 90. Pl. X. fig. 100, 104. Pl. XVII. fig. 132. Pl. XVIII. fig. 133, &c. Pl. XX. fig. 141. Pl. XXII.

And so also in the engravings of the Antonine pillar, representing the expedition of Marcus Aurelius against the Germans, and Sarmatians, we find great varieties of bearings, on the shields of the soldiers, and Chiefs of those nations.* From all which, a curious, and even complete idea of the state of heraldry, in those antient times, might be formed.

With regard to those bearings, however, it may be observed, that notwithstanding there appear to have been such numerous variations; yet few of the devices contained any figures of animals, or plants, or of weapons; probably on account of their little skill in drawing, and designing.

And it may deserve attention, that perhaps we have one means of tracing the use of armorial distinctions even to its very source. For amongst other most curious pieces of information which we receive from Herodotus, we are expressly told by that Father of history,† “that the Carians were the inventors of three things in use amongst the Grecians. They were the first who wore a crest upon their helmets;—the first who taught men to adorn their shields with various figures (or signs, and marks of distinction); the words are *ἐν τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν*, or as some copies have it, *σημεῖα ποιεῖν*;—and the first who invented the hold (or handle) whereby shields are managed, which before used to hang only by a leathern thong going round the neck, and descending by the left shoulder.”

And this antient custom, last mentioned by Herodotus, accounts for the general mode of wearing the sword on the right side, in the earliest ages. And therefore even accounts for it, amongst the Britons.

One of the long and broad two-handed swords, which there is great reason to think actually belonged to a British Chief, who resided in the neighbourhood, and was buried on the spot, was dug up

Pl. XXIII. Pl. XXV. Pl. XXVI. Pl. XXVIII. Pl. XXX. Pl. XXXI.
Pl. XXXII. Pl. XLII. Pl. L. Pl. LII. Pl. LIII. Pl. LV. Pl. LVI. Pl. LVIII.
Pl. LXVIII. Pl. LXXI. Pl. LXXII. Pl. LXXIII. Pl. LXXXIII. Pl. LXXXIV.
Pl. LXXXV. Pl. LXXXVII. Pl. LXXXIX. Pl. CI. Pl. CXI.
* See Pl. VI. Pl. X. Pl. XIX. Pl. XX. Pl. XXII. Pl. XXXI. Pl. XXXIV.
Pl. XXXVIII. Pl. XL. Pl. XLVI. Pl. LVII.

† Herodotus, ed. Wesselingii, 171. p. 81.

at Chateris, in the Isle of Ely, in 1737, together with a *celt*, or spear-head; the umbo of a shield; an urn; and a glass vase.*

One of these swords also was seen by Mr. Pennant, at *Talyskir*, in the Isle of *Rum*, one of the Hebrides. It was called a *Gly-more*, and had a blade two inches broad, doubly edged; and three feet seven inches in length; with an handle fourteen inches long; and a plain transverse guard, of one foot.†

And it ought not to be passed by unnoticed, that such an one appears to be represented in the antient figure of a soldier, that was found amongst the ruins of London, in digging after the great fire in 1666.‡ And that this figure had the hair flowing; the legs bare; the lower garment short, and fastened by a girdle round the waist; and the upper garment flung carelessly over the breast and one arm.¶

A great broad sword of the same kind also, near five feet long, with a transverse guard, ornamented with inlaid silver foliage; was found in a barrow at *Aspatria*, about twenty miles from *Carlisle*, in the road to *Cockermouth*, in the year 1789.||

The *Celts*, which so constantly formed a part of the armour of the antient Britons and Gauls; and which have been so particularly taken notice of by Rowland;§ and of which so very many, of various forms, have been found in different parts of this island; are all very fully described, in a very curious Memoir in the *Archæologia*,** where their several distinct figures are shewn; from whence it plainly appears, that they must have been used for various different purposes, as well as for instruments of war; and that they were in general fastened by strings, and thongs, to their handles, much in the same manner as the implements so lately made use of by the rude natives of the South Sea islands.

And indeed some few others of stone that I have seen, (and one of which I have still in my own possession), plainly indicate, that a

* They are all represented from a drawing of Dr. Stukeley's, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1766, p. 118.

† See *Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 289. ‡ See *Montfaucon Antiq.* Vol. IV. 16. T. X.

|| An account of this is given in the *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 112.

§ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 86.

** By Dr. Lort, Vol. V. p. 106.

time and state of things once existed in these countries of Europe, when the conveniences of life were quite as much limited, and the manners of the people nearly as barbarous, as those of the New Zealanders.

Some of the stone hatchets, of a later date, and of a somewhat more artificial kind than mine, are described, and represented, in the *Archaeologia*.* Whilst a flint axe, still more like that in my possession, was discovered some years ago, sticking in a vein of coal in Craig-y-Parc, in Monmouthshire:† which vein, it is remarkable, was in such a situation, as to have been accessible to the early natives of the country, without any need for mining, or digging deep.

And we may add, that stone arrow heads, are still sometimes found in Scotland, and called by the name of *Elf shots*.‡

Such also have been found in the midway, of the ascent up to the celebrated mountain of Cader Idris, in Merionethshire.§

They have been also found in other parts of Britain: and what is most remarkable, are nearly of the same construction with such as have been discovered near the Straits of Magellan, in South America. Woodward has engraved six of them:¶ and says, truly enough, they are of a form the most mischievous, and most fitted to hurt that could possibly be devised. They are brought to an exquisitely sharp point, with keen edges, and have snaggs, or as they are called beards on each side, on purpose that they may make a large wound wherever they enter; and may not be drawn out without much difficulty, and harm to the part which they happen to have penetrated.

Diodorus expressly tells us** the Gauls wore brazen helmets; having either horns affixed to them; or so contrived as to represent the faces of birds, or beasts. And we may therefore, from the close similarity of the customs of the two nations, conclude very fairly, that such were sometimes in use amongst the Britons. But as they are no further particularly described; and as no remains of any such have ever been dug up; I have not ventured to insert, amongst the

* Vol. II. p. 118. 124. Pl. VIII. fig. 1 and 2. † See Philosophical Transactions, No. 335. p. 500. ‡ See Pennant's Tour in Scotland, p. 102.

§ See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 541; and Wyndham's Tour, p. 107.

¶ See Woodward's Fossils, octavo, p. 43. ** Lib. v. 215. p. 335.

figures of the annexed plate, any sort of representation of their form.*

Strabo had himself seen some of the antient Britons at Rome; and he took particular notice of a circumstance not mentioned by other writers; of their being remarkably tall.†

He describes also, on that occasion, their peculiar custom of using in their own country, a vast number of Cars, or Chariots ‡ in their wars: which is confirmed by Cæsar's account; who says, that Cassivelaunus had no less than four thousand about his person. §

But, truly, from the exceeding rudeness of the British dwellings, and also from the savageness of their manners, as we find them described by Strabo; and further, from their having not a few merely, but such a vast multitude of cars; we may easily conceive, that these, as well as their dwellings, were of no great magnitude; nor of any very curious workmanship.

They most probably (if we may be allowed to investigate facts, without preconceived prejudices) may even be deemed to have resembled the modern, little, low built, Welch carts; the common use of which, in these present days, seems to have been derived down, merely as a simple, plain imitation, of the general form of their most antient vehicles.

And it is surely a striking fact, that the present modern Welch, are no less remarkable for using a vast, unnecessary, and quite disproportionate number of carts, or cars, on many occasions, than their ancestors were.

* There is a curious passage in Herodotus, lib. iv. 180. p. 360, wherein he affirms, that the Greeks first borrowed the helmet from the Egyptians: and it seems very probable, that the figures of men with the heads of birds, and beasts, so often seen amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and which have been commonly imagined to represent some of their false deities, were designed, in reality, originally to represent men armed with antient helmets. The fabulous tale also of men whose mouths were in their breasts, might be derived from the appearance of barbarians armed with large casques. And the first barbarous idea of this sort of armour, may very easily be conceived to have been to strike beholders with horror, and amazement; as well as to defend the head from blows. And hence probably this custom might be derived to the Britons; who by some historians are said to have shaped their bodies into divers figures. Sammes's Britannia, p. 124.

† This distinction is perhaps still remarkable, with regard to the inhabitants of this island, when compared with the Spaniards.

‡ Strabo, lib. iv. 200. p. 305, 306.

§ Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 15.

I myself have seen, near Penrice, in Glamorganshire, a farmer, carrying home a part of his harvest, by means of a procession of twelve little carts; each drawn by one horse; with a man, or a woman, riding astride upon it; and followed by a train of twelve single horses; each having a man, or a woman, riding in like manner, and carrying behind them merely two or three sheaves of corn, tied up in bags; whilst the whole convoy, all together, though consisting of twenty-four riders, twenty-four horses, and twelve carts, did not carry home more corn than would have been a load for an English waggon; nor perhaps so much.

That the resemblance between the antient British cars, and the modern Welch, little, low built carts, is not founded on idle conjecture, will plainly appear, if we fairly allow ourselves to consider, that no sort of carriage, of any kind of construction that can be conceived, can better, or indeed by any means so well agree with Cæsar's description of the manner in which they were used in battle: *running quickly here and there in every part, over the most uneven ground, without being overturned; and then, when the warrior had descended from them to fight on foot, affording him an easy opportunity to ascend again in a moment.*

"This," says Cæsar, "is the mode of fighting from their cars: first
 "they drive about through all parts, and cast their weapons; and
 "by the very terror of the horses, and noise of the wheels, much
 "disturb the enemies' ranks. And when by this means they have
 "forced their way into the midst of the enemies' cavalry, they jump
 "from their cars, and fight on foot; the drivers in the mean while
 "removing a little out of the heat of the battle, and placing themselves in such a manner, that if those who are fighting, are hard
 "prest, by the multitude of the enemy, they may make an expeditious retreat to their cars. Thus they have both the rapidity of
 "cavalry, and the stability of infantry in their fights. And they
 "have acquired such skill, by daily use and exercise, that they are
 "accustomed, even in a steep and precipitous spot, to keep their
 "horses on full speed; and to stop or turn them in a moment; to
 "run (*i.e. themselves*) upon the *shaft (or pole)*; to stand upon the yoke;
 "and from thence quickly to betake themselves to the car again."*

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. §. 29.

From the mode of expression, and mention that is made of British Cars, in many detached passages of the most antient, and most curious historians,* we may conclude, that the Britons had six kinds of chariots, distinguished by different names; but all very small. And it is much deserving of our attention, that these names are allowed to be derived from the East, and from the Phœnicians;† the *Benna*; the *Carrum*; the *Covinus*; the *Essedum*; the *Rheda*; and that a carriage is still called by some of the Germans *Benne*; and that to this day, to carry in a cart, or waggon, is in the old British tongue called *Cowain*.

The *Covinus* seems, however, to have been, properly, the *Car*, armed with scythes, or hooks, in imitation of the antient iron chariots of the Syrians; whilst the *Essedum* was that to carry armed men; and the *Rheda*, that of the chieftain; and the *Benna*, and the *Carrum*, seem to have been left to carry single private men, or baggage. But in none of them can we conceive, that there was much difference of form; because if there had been so, they could not have run so rapidly over uneven ground, without overturning. Nothing except such low built cars as those of the modern Welch could endure that: and therefore we may be well assured, that the figures given by Mr. Sammes,‡ must be erroneous; for any one who casts an eye upon them, must perceive, that such carriages would overturn even sooner than a modern cart.

As to the *Scyths* also, I should suspect, that both in the British, and in the Syrian chariots, they were fixed, at the ends of the axletrees, as well as on the sides of the shafts, not sticking out straight; nor with the inner side of the curved part forwards; but rather sloping backwards, and with the edge formed on the outer convex part; by which means they would cut slanting, as well as merely strike.

The warriors who fought in these war chariots, we find, from Cæsar, § were clad in skins; were stained with woad of a bluish colour, to make them appear more dreadful in battle; had their

* Cæsar, Diodorus, Strabo, Lucan, Tacitus, Pomponius Mela, Dio Nicæus. See also a citation from the poet Juvenal, with judicious remarks in the *Archæologia*, Vol. VII. p. 211; and it ought not to be forgotten, that Dio Nicæus describes the horses as being small; as are the true Welch horses.

† Sammes's *Britannia*, p. 120, 121.

‡ See the plate in Sammes's *Britannia*, p. 122. § Lib. v. sec. 10.

hair lank; and were shaved in every part of the body, except the head, and upper lip.

And there is the greatest reason to believe, that like the savage South Sea Islanders, described by *Cook*,* they preserved the jaw-bones of their enemies slain by them, as memorials of their exploits, and valour.

For Strabo says,† of the Gauls, (who, he tells us, were even more civilized than the Britons,) but yet resembled them in most points, “that when they return from battle, they carry the *heads* of their enemies suspended from their horses necks; and then place them openly before the gates of their towns, as a sort of trophies. And anointing some of them also with pitch or turpentine, they preserve them in chests, or baskets; and shew them with ostentation to strangers; refusing to suffer them to be redeemed even for their weight in gold.” Which account is confirmed by Diodorus.

And it is very remarkable, that immediately after his account of the Britons, whom he had seen at Rome;‡ describing the still more savage state of the Irish, Strabo says, *that they eat human flesh*. Which circumstance he mentions with just the same kind of timid caution, as some of our early geographers did the first reports concerning the Caribbee Indians; before the later voyagers had put the existence of Cannibals past all doubt, both in the Caribbee Isles, and in New Zealand, and in the Islands of the South Sea.

The weapons which the British warriors used, when mounted on their Cars, were most manifestly those called *Celts*, of various kinds: which must have been tied at the end of sticks, and staves; in a mode not at all surpassing, and most likely much resembling, the weapons of the New Zealanders.

The manner in which very remote nations, in their early periods, resemble each other, is a most striking circumstance in history. And the numerous Cars of the Britons, unavoidably remind us of the *nine hundred chariots* of iron, of Jabin king of Canaan. || Nine hundred *Chariots*, that most probably were not of much greater magnitude, or magnificence, than a British Car.

* Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 169. See also, a strange fact, Vol. III. p. 469.

† Lib. iii. 198. p. 302, and 200, p. 305. See also Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. 212, p. 352. Ed. Wesselingii. ‡ Strabo, lib. iv. 201. p. 307. || Judges, chap. iv. ver. 31.

They remind us also, of the *Cars* of the antient Grecians, and Trojans; which seem to have been, when all that is related concerning them is duly considered, (like those of the Britons,) of a much more simple construction, than the usual prejudices of education, and the too great reverence we are so apt to entertain for objects of high antiquity will, at first sight, readily permit us to allow.

Homer himself may be our guide, to open our eyes, in this respect; whether his admirable work be really an exact narration; or merely a romantic Epic poem. For in either case we may be assured, that he accurately described well known usages, and customs. And, according to his account, in the first place, we find, the Grecian Cars were hardly less numerous than those of the Britons: since, when Achilles wished to pay honours to the remains of Patroclus, we are led to understand, that almost every one, (if not precisely every one,) of the Myrmidons, had his own Car to make use of on the occasion.*

And in the next place, we find a circumstance strongly marking the simplicity of the Trojan Cars. For the poet describing Lycaon, the son of King Priam, as having been taken prisoner by Achilles; says it was at the very time, that he (not suspecting the approach of any enemy,) was lopping young green branches from a tree, to repair a part of his chariot. The Greek expression, *ἐν ἀκροῦς ἀντρυγέῃς*, implies, *that curved, projecting part*, of the front of a chariot, ‡ where the reins are hung, when the car is standing still: but Pope translates it coarsely enough; and in a manner that would convey a still more degrading idea of the carriage; telling us, that Lycaon was

“ But late made captive in his father's land,

“ (As from a sycamore, his sounding steel

“ Lopp'd the green arms, to spoke a chariot wheel.)”

And after this; from the description given of the Chariot of Priam || himself, we find reason to conclude, even *that* Royal Car

* Iliad, book xxiii. line 6, 7.

+ Ibid. book xxi. line 37, 38.

‡ See H. Stephens's Thes. p. 469, 470.

|| Ibid. book xxiv. line 265 to 285.

to have been merely of a very simple construction ; notwithstanding what is said of its beam being made of box wood, and nicely polished. As Homer speaks of the fastening upon it, the baskets, for holding the gifts, to be carried to Achilles, in a manner that shews its structure, and magnitude, to have been not vastly superior to that of a Welch Car.

It is plain also, that Priam's chariot had only two wheels ; because the chariot or waggon, with *four wheels*, which was to bring back the body of Hector, is by *that very circumstance*,* distinguished from the one in which Priam rode.

The primæval simplicity of the times also, as well as that of the Car, is in a most striking manner pointed out, by the poet's telling us, that King Priam, with his own hands, assisted only by his herald, harnessed the horses ; and that afterwards he himself drove the carriage.

And we find no less simplicity of manners, and of the construction of an antient Grecian Car, in the account given, in the Odyssey, of the Royal Car of Alcinous, king of Phæacia, which his daughter Nausicaa requested+ leave to borrow, that she might convey the robes of the family, that were wanting cleansing, to the river side, to be washed. In these our days of modern refinement, it is almost impossible to preserve the description free from *burlesque ideas* ; notwithstanding the dignity of Homer's expressions. And still less, when the request of the *Princess*, begins with the Greek words Πάππα φίλ' ; *Dear Papa*.

We are then told, the car was loaded with the whole wardrobe of the family ; and that the *Princess*, mounting the seat, took the reins, and whip, into her own hands, and whipped, and drove the horses along. Whilst at the same time most particular care is taken to inform us, ‡ that the carriage moved but very slowly ; both on account of its heavy load ; and that the damsels, who attended on foot, might the more easily follow it. ||

These facts, and this little digression, may tend to assist us in forming more precise ideas, both of the simple construction of the

* Iliad, book xxiv. line 324, 326.

‡ Odyssey, book vi. line 81, 82.

+ Odyssey, book vi. line 57, 58, 59.

|| Ibid. line 319, 320.

Grecian Cars, notwithstanding the high-sounding words in which they are often described; and of the antient *British Chariots*, notwithstanding they were sometimes so formidable to the Romans.* We may however fairly allow, both the one and the other to have been frequently much ornamented, and, like the Canoes of the South Sea Islanders, to have been inlaid with pearly shells, and bone; or ivory; or even with gold, and silver.

Ideas of ostentation have ever been prevalent in the human mind; and even still more amongst barbarians, as far as their abilities reached, than amongst more civilized nations.

* In a Vignette, beneath, is added a sketch of one of the little modern Welch Carts; and also a distant view of two others of them without wheels, which kind are much in use. And on one side of the same Vignette, is represented, a modern Welch Pig-stie; several of which sort are to be seen near Llandaff. They are built of small stones, and being whitened over, make a very pretty, neat appearance. And, ludicrous as the comparison may at first sight be deemed, there is certainly reason to conclude, that their form has been derived down, from an imitation of the antient British huts; as that of the carts, is from a resemblance of the antient British car.



* Ibid. book vi. line 22, 23, 24.

Ibid. line 25, 26.

* Ibid. book xiv. line 22, 23.

Ibid. book vi. line 22, 23.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING STONES OF MEMORIAL.

THE objects of British Antiquity that next demand our attention, as being coæval with the Fortifications just described; are Druidical Remains; Civil; Religious; and Superstitious.

But it is odd enough to be obliged to observe, in the very first instance, that although so very many of these remains do now go promiscuously under the name of *Druid Temples*; yet, in reality, the Druids had no Temples at all,* that could properly be so called; and by the very principles of their religion, disowned the use of any, as much as the antient Persians did.

The objects of antiquity now to be considered, are therefore simply confined, to plain Stones of Memorial; Circles of Memorial, Observance, and Observation; Sacred Circles, with Altars of Oblation; Altars for Sacrifice, and Divination; Rocking Stones; Kistvaens, or Tombs; and Barrows.

Many different specimens of which kinds, remaining in various parts on British ground, plainly speak for themselves: and are all of them obviously derived from the common usages of the most early ages of the world.

And the considering them in this light; and attending to them as connected with *such* usages; will, it is trusted, be more satisfactory, than labouring to connect their history with that of *any particular British, or Saxon, or Danish battles*; with regard to which precise events it is, after all, by far most probable they had no connection whatever.

Nothing can be more certain, than that the setting up of Stones of Memorial, was one of the very first means devised in the world,

* This is, in reality, confirmed by what Borlase fairly acknowledges, (p. 111.) and by the substance of what has been written by the most judicious Investigators of these kind of antiquities, notwithstanding their inadvertent use of the word *Temple*.

to record events, and facts of high import. And the really interesting part of the present inquiry, is merely to ascertain what kind of Stones were designed to do so.

It has on this occasion often been recollected, that when Jacob was going into Mesopotamia, to Padan-aram; and had on his way, whilst he was taking his rest at Bethel, a Divine Vision, in a dream; that in memory of it, when he awoke in the morning, he set up a Stone for a *Pillar of memorial*; anointing it with oil.

But the circumstances of this fact have not, perhaps, been so properly and rightly attended to, as they deserve. For, in the first place, our version in the Bible has very strangely translated the narration; saying, *that he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows; and that in the morning he took the stone he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar,* and poured oil upon the top of it.*

Now, to say nothing of the inconsistency of this double narration in itself, as to the confusion of the singular, and plural number; what sort of pillow must it have been that was formed of several stones, one of which alone was large enough to be set up for a pillar of memorial? and how could any man living have contrived to rest, with his head on such an heap? The translation of the Septuagint, however, sets the matter right: for there we simply and plainly read, that he took a *stone*, and placed it *at his head*; obviously to fence and keep off the wind, and weather; just as travellers, to this day in the Desert, as Shaw informs us, have recourse to the shelve of a rock, for shelter; or to the loose ruins, and remains of antient arches, that formerly belonged to cisterns, constructed to preserve water.†

This stone, thus taken by Jacob, to place at his head, during the night, as a fence against the weather, might therefore easily be large enough, to set up for a pillar; and indeed must in a degree have been sufficient to answer such a purpose; if it was at all of a size sufficient to answer as a means of shelter. And such an one might also be of a bulk not too great for one man to rear: of a bulk, not exceeding that of many antient stones of memorial, such as we still find in many parts of our own country; about 3 or 4 feet high, standing

* Genesis, chap. xxviii. ver. 11, 18. † Preface to Shaw's Travels, p. ix.

single, in fields, and on heaths, and by the sides of roads; without the least tradition now left, when, or why, or by whom, they were so placed: yet so appearing, and so remaining, that we may be assured, they were not so placed without some very significant reason.

Again; when Jacob was returning from Mesopotamia, and was pursued by Laban with hostile intentions; and when they were at last reconciled; and Laban proposed to make a solemn covenant, that might be for a witness between them; * we are informed, that Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a Pillar: and moreover said unto his brethren, (that is to his kinsmen, the near relations of Laban,) *gather stones: and they took stones, and made an heap: and they did eat there, upon the heap. And Laban said, this heap is a witness between me and thee this day. Behold THIS HEAP, and behold THIS PILLAR, which I have cast betwixt me and thee; this heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee; and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar to me, for harm.*

And previous to this last solemn transaction, we find also, the first pillar set up by Jacob, mentioned, and approved of, by an Angel, in a vision, in a dream.†

We read also still further; ‡ that when Jacob removed again, and fled from *Shallem*, or *Shechem*, and came again to Bethel; he reared there an altar; and seems then also to have set up *another pillar*, by the altar; and to have poured a drink offering thereon, and to have poured oil thereon.

Now these erections of pillars, in all these instances, we may be certain were not *new* devices either of Jacob's, or of Laban's; but were ceremonies observed, in conformity with more antient usages: of which all that passed in the interview, on the second occasion, was a proof. These more antient usages were therefore derived from the very first men, in the very first ages: || even from the same stock, which the first inhabitants of Britain descended from.

Accordingly we find in this country, in Cornwall, one most re-

* Genesis, chap. xxxi. verse 44, 45, 46, 51, 52. + Ibid. verse 13.

‡ Ibid. chap. xxxv. verse 7, 14, 15.

|| The analogy between the customs of the most antient nations, and those of all such others, as having been branched off, and separated from them, in very early periods of the

markable Stone, with an heap of other stones lying at its bottom; in Boswen's Croft, Sanctred, which so exactly answers to the description of that erected by Jacob and Laban, that if it were in Syria, it might even be mistaken for it.

I must borrow the representation of this stone, and heap, Pl. IV. fig. 1, from Dr. Borlase.*

And somewhat similar to this, seems to have been a great Stone, about half a mile south-west from Enston Church, in Oxfordshire, which tapers from a broad bottom, and had several stones of a much smaller size lying on the ground by it.

And as we have these remarkable appearances; so we are not without instances of a superstitious regard being preserved for certain *heaps* of stones, as *actual bonds of covenants*; in sequestered parts, where customs and manners are but slowly changed.

For in the Isle of Jona, one of the Western Isles of Scotland, we are told, † there are still certain stones, called *the Black Stones*; not from their colour, for that is grey; but from the dire effects that *tradition says* ensued upon *perjury*; if any one became guilty of it, after swearing on these stones in the usual manner; for an oath made on them, was decisive in all controversies.

Further, it has been particularly remarked by Rowland; ‡ that, in many places, where there are *Carneddes*, or Heaps of Stones, of great apparent antiquity, there are generally Stone Pillars standing near by them.

To which I must add; that, even when such kind of stones as we often see remaining alone, of great bulk, and of great antiquity,

world, have for ages been shut out from intercourse with the improvements of civilization, is in a vast variety of instances exceedingly deserving of notice.

Thus we not only find the custom of raising heaps of stones, as *Memorials*, preserved amongst the Britons, long after it was disused by the Asiatics, and by the Greeks, and become even unknown to the Romans; but amongst the Indians, in America, we find the same custom preserved, down to our own days. For Beverley informs us, § that on concluding a peace, the Virginian Indians buried a Tomahawk, or stone hatchet, and raised an heap of stones thereon, as a Memorial.

* Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 164. Pl. X. fig. 3.
Western Islands, p. 259.

† Martin's Description of the

‡ Mona Antiqua, p. 51.

§ History of Virginia, p. 164.

answered the purpose only of *mere boundary Stones*; as some of them most unquestionably did: it yet seems very obvious; that their being allowed, through ages, to be decidedly *such legal marks*; was actually in consequence of some solemn covenant, and agreement, made on the spot, between the parties claiming, on both sides; of which covenant, before the use of deeds in writing, the Stone erected, was the vouched signature and proof; as much, as in the instance of the agreement between Jacob and Laban, the Stone then set up, was a proof of a Covenant of another sort.*

These kind of solemn boundaries we find mentioned in the Holy Law of God.† *Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's Land-mark.* We find them also mentioned by Homer. For in the imaginary scene, in which he supposes Minerva to have thrown a great stone at Mars, and to have wounded him; the Poet says, that she retreating, *seized in her strong hand, a stone lying in the field, black, rough, and vast; which men in former times had placed as a boundary of cultivated land.*‡

London Stone, preserved with such reverential care through so many ages, and now having its top incased within another stone, in Cannon Street, was plainly deemed a Record of the highest antiquity, of some still more important kind; though we are at present unacquainted with the original intent and purport for which it was placed. It is fixed at present, close under the south wall of St. Swithin's Church; but was formerly a little nearer the channel, facing the same place; which seems to prove its having had some more antient and peculiar designation, than that of having been a Roman Milliard; even if it ever were used for that purpose afterwards. It was fixed deep in the ground; and is mentioned so early as the time of Ethelstan, King of the West Saxons, without any particular reference to its having been considered as a Roman Milliard stone. ||

* One cannot but bring to mind, on this occasion, the legal ceremonies so long retained, in these later ages; of delivering *a turf of the land, or a twig upon the spot*, by way of *Livery of Seisin* of a Freehold Estate. And of *holding a little rod in the hand, and of delivering it into the hands of the Steward*, (by the custom of some Manors,) as a necessary form of Legal Surrender of a Copyhold Estate. See Coke Litt. fol. 48. a. and fol. 61. a.

† Deuteronomy, chap. xxxvii. verse 17.

‡ Iliad, book xxi. line 403, 404.

|| There are some curious observations with regard to this Stone, in the Gentleman's

And so the famous Stone of Scone, formerly in Scotland; on which the Kings of England and Scotland are still crowned; though now removed to Westminster, and inclosed in a chair of wood, is yet well known to have been an antient Stone of Record, and most Solemn Designation, even long before it was first placed at Scone.

Buchanan tells us, it formerly stood in Argyleshire; and that King Kenneth, in the ninth century, transferred it from thence to Scone, and inclosed it in a wooden chair. It was believed by some, to have been that which Jacob used for a pillow, and to have travelled into Scotland, from Ireland, and from Spain. But whatever may be thought of such a Monkish tradition, it is clear enough, that before the time of Kenneth, that is, before the year 834, it had been placed simply, and plainly, as a Stone of great import, and of great notoriety, in Argyleshire; and on account of the reverence paid to it, was removed by Kenneth.*

Even under the Divine Sanction, and after the giving of the Law, we find this method of recording great events, complied with, in conformity to still more ancient usage.

For Moses expressly commanded the Children of Israel to record their entrance into the promised Land, in the following manner.

+ *It shall be on the day when you shall pass over Jordan, unto the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great Stones, and plaister them with plaister; and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this Law.*

Which command we are afterwards told Joshua most punctually observed.†

And when he himself, just before his death, had given his last charge to the people; we are told, || *he took a great Stone, and set it*

Magazine, Vol. XLII. p. 126. See also Pennant's London, p. 4. And the Parentalia, p. 265; in which it appears, that Sir Christopher Wren, in consequence of the depth and largeness of its foundation, was convinced that it must have been some more considerable monument than a mere Milliard stone.

* It would not be just to omit mentioning, that a curious investigation of the history of this Stone, may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LI. p. 452; and Vol. LII. p. 23.

+ Deuteronomy, chap. xxvii. verse 2, 3, &c.

‡ Joshua, chap. iv. ver. 8, 20. Chap. viii. ver. 30. || Ibid. chap. xxiv. ver. 26, 27.

up there under an oak, that was by the Sanctuary of the Lord in Shechem. And said unto all the people, Behold this Stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which He spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.

We read also of a well known, and distinguished Stone, of great magnitude; on which even the Ark of God was placed, when it returned out of the country of the Philistines, and had been taken out of the cart by the Levites. Which stone, seems to have been well known before that time, by the name of the great Stone of Abel.*

Further; when the Israelites had been in a most extraordinary manner enabled, by the directions of Samuel, on their repentance, to defeat the Philistines; and were by that means delivered from their oppression; *Samuel took a Stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, (or the Stone of help,) saying, hitherto hath God helped us.*†

And there are some great Pillars of Stone still remaining in this country, of such vast magnitude and distinction; and standing so remote from any *circles* of Pillars, or *heaps* of Stones; that they can only be concluded to be also Memorials of great victories, and events; although all knowledge of such victories, and events, is now perished.

They are like the Pyramids of Egypt; Records of the highest antiquity, in a dead language.

Of this kind are three great stones, little known, but deserving much attention, standing near each other, in a field at Trelech, in Monmouthshire; in a manner which plainly indicates, that they did not form a part of any Circle of Stones.

They are sometimes called by the neighbouring inhabitants, *Harold's Stones*; but for what reason does not at all satisfactorily appear.

Yet, from their vast bulk, and the immense labour required to erect them, they must have been designed to perpetuate the remembrance of some event, deemed at the time of the highest importance to an whole people.

* 1 Samuel, chap. vi. verse 15, 18.

† Ibid. chap. vii. verse 12.

They are represented from a drawing, taken on the spot in 1789, in Pl. IV. fig. 2.

Their height is unequal; but the highest is at least thirteen or fourteen feet above the ground; and being most manifestly of the very same kind of substance with a stratum of rock, situated a few miles off, nearer to Monmouth, (that is, a kind of stone composed of small pebbles inclosed in an hard cementing rock, something like what is vulgarly called pudding stone,) they must have been conveyed to the spot where they now stand, by means of most prodigious efforts: efforts not inferior to those which are recorded of Harold, the son of Gormon, in the North.

For the preserving also the remembrance of some event of high import, at the time, must those stones called the *Devil's Arrows*, have been placed, near Burrowbridge, in Yorkshire. With regard to which it is very remarkable, that one of them stands leaning, nearly in the same manner as one of those at Trelech does; only they are further distant from one another. The highest is about 24 feet high. They seem never to have had a tool lifted up, or used upon them; and, in consequence of their vast antiquity, have a sort of little furrows worn in some parts, from the top downwards, by the rain.*

So those three stones, called the *Devil's Coits*, near Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, (which were all existing a very few years ago,) stood too far remote from the Rowldrich Stones, to have had any connection with them, as to their particular import: and seem to have been designed rather as mere Records, like those just mentioned. They were 65 paces asunder, and about 8 feet high, and 7 broad at the base.†

At a village also called Kinver, in Staffordshire, 9 miles from Wolverhampton, is a large single stone, 6 feet high, and 12 feet in circumference; called by the neighbouring inhabitants *Battle Stone*, or *Bolt Stone*; which there is reason to believe was set up by the

* A particular account of them in their present state, with drawings, is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. p. 1081. See also Drake's History of York, p. 26. And Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 58.

† See some account of them in Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 294. And in the Description of England, Vol. VII. p. 254.

F.1.

Pl. IV.



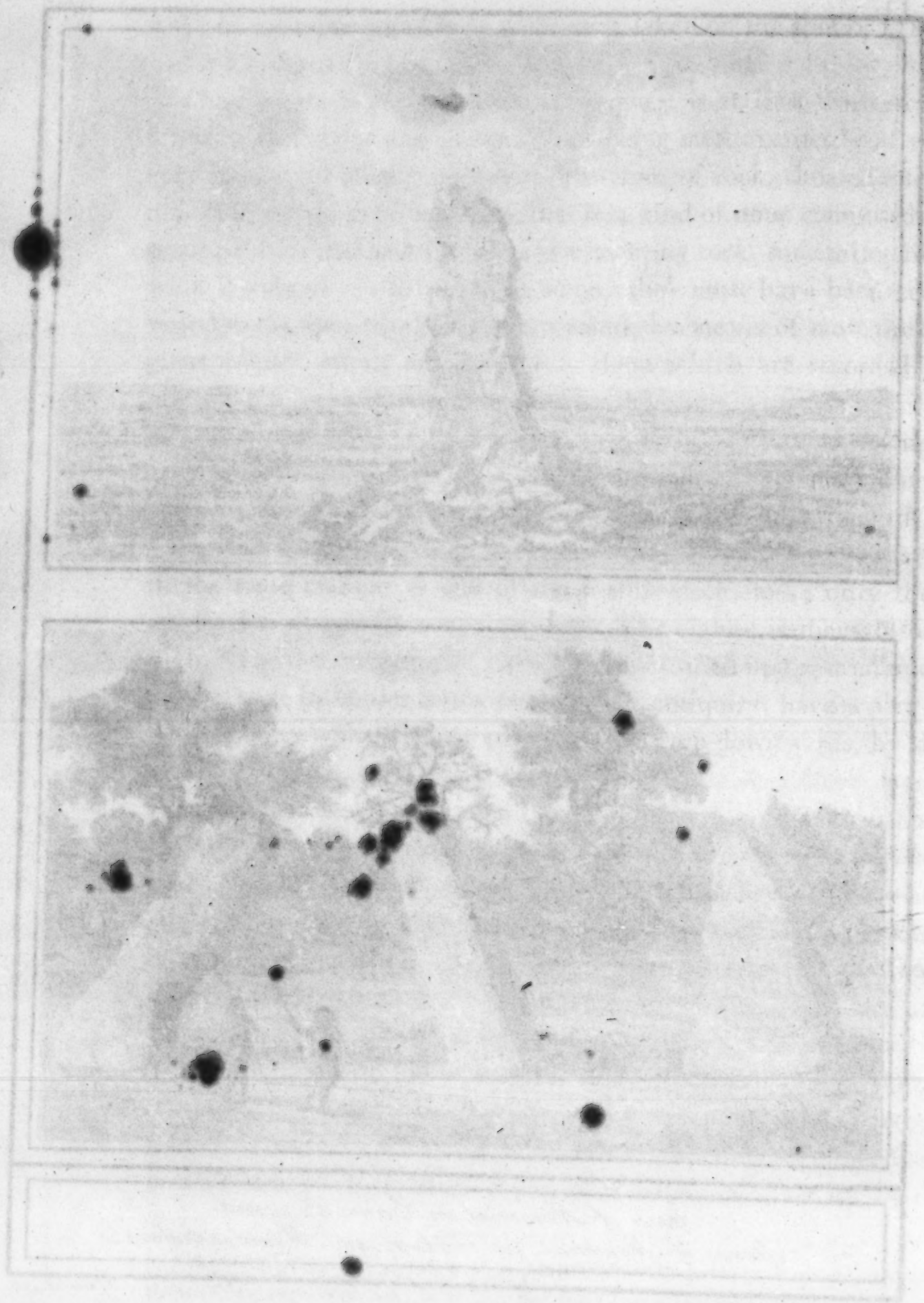
F.2.



*Stone of Memorial in Cornwall— and
Stones of Memorial at Trelech in Monmouthshire.*

A. C. del.

J. Caldwell. sculp.



antient Britons, as a Memorial of a Fight, and Victory. On the top is a very rude resemblance, as some imagine, of three heads; or rather, indeed, a sort of notching, like what is seen on the top of those called the Devil's Arrows, in Yorkshire. Dr. Plott's* plain description of the Stone is; that it has two *chops* in the top of it, so that at a distance it appears a *triceps*.

In the churchyard of Leek in Staffordshire also, is a Stone adorned with exceeding rude devices, that seem to be more antient than the times of the Saxons, and Danes; and was therefore most probably one of the latest remains of this kind erected by the Britons.†

That, however, even in later ages, Stones have been actually set up as memorials of particular battles and victories, both in this Island, and in Ireland, is well known.

Thus; about three hundred yards west of New-bridge, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, are three large Stones set edgeways towards each other; the middlemost of which is five feet broad, and seven high, and two thick. And these are said, by an uncontroverted tradition, to be the Memorial of a battle fought on this spot, the plain of *Ballagh Leachta*, between *Brian Boiruma* king of Munster, and the *O Mahonies* of Carbery, assisted by the Danes, most of whom were slain.‡

And again, on the heath of Maryborough, in Queen's County, in Ireland; there is a Stone remaining, which it is affirmed was set up in consequence of a Battle fought in the *third Century*, near that spot, between the Leinster, and Munster forces.§

And in Brecknockshire, in South Wales, is a Stone still remaining, with exceeding rude sculpture; which there is the utmost reason to believe was erected to commemorate a Victory over a king of Northumberland in 617.||

So late also as the time of Malcolm, son of Kennith, king of Scotland, a single Stone was set up in the shire of Murray,** as a Monument of a Victory over the Danes, about the year 1008.

* Plott's Staffordshire, p. 397. Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 381. Description of England, Vol. VIII. p. 241.

† It is represented in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. L. p. 165.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 505.

§ See Pl. XLIII. fig. 1. in Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. III. and p. 543.

|| Archaeologia, Vol. I. p. 294. Vol. IV. p. 24. And Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 476.

** Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 430.

As to other Stone Pillars, besides those we have already mentioned, of a more antient date ; there is a very remarkable one still standing, in the parish, or township, of Sowerby, near Halifax in Yorkshire.*

And a still more extraordinary one, in the village of *Rudston*, in the East Riding of Yorkshire ; which place seems to have taken its very name from the long prior existence of this Great Pillar, reared on the spot. It is five feet ten inches in breadth ; two feet three inches in thickness ; and four-and-twenty feet in height, besides the part inserted deep in the ground. All the four sides are a little convex ; and it tapers to a sort of point at the top.+ Every circumstance of its appearance shews it to have been British ; and there seems to be no coincidence of circumstances, nor indeed any thing except vulgar prejudice, that should lead us to conceive it to be Danish.

There are also two remarkable Great Stones placed, in the form of Columns, but quite rude ; in the Isle of Arran, on the coast of Scotland.† And one in the same Island, is said to be above fifteen feet high.§ And even many such are to be met with in various parts of the Highlands.||

In the parish of *Barvas*, in one of the Western Islands, called Lewis, or Long Island, is a very high Stone, called the *Thrushel Stone*.** And there are also three erected Stones upon the north side of *Loch Carlway*, about twelve feet high each.

There is a Stone eight feet high, and two feet thick, placed in the Isle of *Harries*, near St. Asaph's Chapel.++ And another above St. Peter's Village.††

In the Orkney Islands also, are great high Stones, like obelisks. §§

And it ought not to be forgotten that near *Capel Kirig*, in Caernarvonshire, is a remarkable single upright stone called *Maen-gwyr*.|||

* See Archaeologia, Vol. II. p. 360.

+ There is a representation, and particular account of it, in the Archaeologia, Vol. V. p. 94.

† Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 178. § Martin's Descript. of the Western Isles, p. 220.

|| Cordiner's Antiquities of Scotland, p. 43.

** Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 8.

++ Ibid. Description of the Western Isles, p. 47.

†† Ibid. p. 59.

§§ Wallace's Account of the Orkney Islands, p. 54. ||| Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 510.

As there is a most antient Stone also in Kildare county, in Ireland, called *Gablahn*, or *Gobhlan* Stone.*

And there is one most particularly noticed,† in the county of Dublin, on Broadley Common; whose high antiquity, and design, seems to be the rather ascertained, by the number of tumuli, or barrows, near to it.

And whilst Memorials of this sort, as Rowland affirms, are to be met with in so many parts, up and down in the fields in Anglesey;‡

And are also to be met with, in different parts of Sweden,§ and of Denmark;

So doubtless many, which have been observed in the various southern parts of the world, besides those in Syria, and Palestine, may fairly be concluded to have been reared originally for similar purposes, in the earliest ages; though all tradition concerning them is now lost.

Nor are we without most striking, and most antient instances, which assure us of the truth of this conclusion: one of which is, that of the pillars of Hercules. For although fable, and superstition, confounded the memorial of them afterwards, with the two great mountains on each side the strait leading into the Mediterranean sea; yet Quintus Curtius plainly says, *such sort of columns* were reported to have been really placed by Hercules at Cadiz in Spain.|| And the memory of them is even preserved in some antient Tyrian coins, in a manner that indicates the very mode of setting them up to have been somewhat similar to that of Jacob's setting up his pillar. For there are represented, on those coins, *two Stones*, placed erect, with a figure of Hercules sacrificing by them.**

Pliny, in his Natural History,++ and Solinus also, inform us, that as these Pillars were placed as memorials of his travels in the West; so there were *certain altars* placed by Hercules, in the East, beyond the country of the *Sogdiani*; as memorials of his travels in those

* Pl. XXXV. fig. 7, in Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. III. p. 543.

† Ibid. Vol. III. p. 559.

‡ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 93—52.

§ *Ola Mag.* lib. i. p. 8. Wormius, p. 64, 65.

|| Quintus Curtius, lib. x. cap. 1.

** Stukely's Stonehenge, p. 50.

++ Plin. Hist. lib. vi. cap. xvi. xviii.

parts. And *Festus Avienus*,* mentions Stone Pillars, or Columns ; and Altars also, placed in that remote region, by Bacchus.

The account of Diodorus Siculus, detached from the poison infused into it, in consequence of superstitious and fabulous traditions, is plainly ; that when Hercules found he had arrived at the extreme parts both of Africa, and Europe, he determined to set up pillars as a Memorial of his military expedition (*Σημειωτικὰ*).†

And we have, in the account given us by Quintus Curtius,‡ a clear description of *the manner* in which, the stones were placed, as memorials of the victory of Bacchus ; and of the extent of his conquests in Scythia ; which shews even the arrangement of the stones to have been very similar to that of those British Remains which we have described as still existing at Trelech in Monmouthshire. His words are—“ Transierant jam Liberi Patris Terminos ; “ quorum Monumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi, “ arboresque proceræ, quarum stipites hedera contexerat.”

To this we may add, that Sesostriis, the Egyptian, when he made his conquests, set up pillars in every country he conquered. The antient writers indeed, and especially Herodotus, who § saw some of them in Syria, mention an inscription to have been placed upon them : but as there are no inscriptions upon any of the pillars or obelisks in Egypt, from the time of Sesostriis, down to that of Cleopatra, except hieroglyphics ; and as Diodorus expressly says, they were in the characters peculiarly read by the priests,** it is not reasonable to believe that there could be any other than slight hieroglyphical characters,++ on these monuments of his victories, erected in so much haste.

* *Descriptio Orbis*, p. 835.

† Diodorus, lib. iv. p. 157,—p. 264. ed. Wesselingii.

‡ Lib. vii. cap. ix. sec. 15.

§ Herodotus. *Euterpe*, lib. ii. 106, p. 151. Wesselingii ed.

** Diodorus, 35, p. 65. Wesselingii.

++ I have been informed by *Doctor Moyes*, one of the most learned and ingenious Chemists of this age, that it has lately been discovered, that a certain preparation of lead, rubbed with a blunt iron tool, will quickly wear away the hardest *granite*, or even *basalt*; which circumstance may both account for the manner in which the antient hieroglyphic Egyptian figures were wrought on stones which no modern tool hardly will touch ; and also illustrates, in the clearest manner, those sublime words of Job ; *Oh that my words were now written!—Oh that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever!—For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth.* Job, chap. xix. ver. 23, 24.

Another instance of the placing a stone of memorial, which is of very high antiquity, and of a very singular kind, the rather deserves to be now mentioned, because it has so seldom been taken notice of.

It is recorded by Plutarch, in his life of Theseus: who tells us, that when Ægeus had reason to apprehend that Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus, founder of the city of the Troezenians in Peloponnesus, would have a son born after his departure; her own father having been desirous that there should be such issue; he placed a sword, and a pair of sandals, *under a great stone*;* acquainting none but

* I have followed the common translations in this description; but must observe that the Greek word used by Plutarch is *πέδιλα*;† which, though it be rendered by one translator *sandals*, and by another *shoes*, does properly mean neither one nor the other; but rather a sort of coverings like short boots, both for the feet and ankles; similar to those which the poets describe Mercury to have worn with wings; and which are represented on several gems, and antient figures of him.

And from the peculiar manner in which they are mentioned, as being left together with the sword here; as well as from what is said of them in several passages of Homer; they seem to have been both badges of dignity, and a kind of armature; perhaps offensive, by means of sharp points, as well as defensive.

They are mentioned as a characteristic part of the *magnificent dress* of Agamemnon, in the Iliad.‡ And in the Odyssey, the very same words used to describe this part of the accoutrements of Agamemnon, are also used to describe the golden covering of the feet of Mercury himself. ||

— ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἰδῆσθαι καλὰ πέδιλα,

Ἀμβρόσια, χρύσεια—

In the sixteenth book of the Odyssey, they are described amongst the badges of honour, and distinction, fit and proper to be bestowed by a prince upon an illustrious stranger, together with a sword, and robes. § In short, they seem to have been as peculiar to the dignity of an antient Chieftain in Greece, as *spurs* were afterwards to a Norman Baron: or to a Knight of any of the Great Orders in our modern courts in Europe.

Nor is it any objection to these ideas, that Homer describes Eumæus as preparing such accoutrements for his own use; ** since it appears, both from the simplicity of antient customs; and from the respect with which Eumæus was treated by Telemachus in the palace of Ulysses, at a feast, in the presence of all the guests; that he was considered as an Officer of no inconsiderable rank. His employment in the fields was no more disgraceful to him, according to the ideas of the times, than it was to Patroclus to dress the food for Achilles;††—or for Jacob to feed the sheep of Laban.

The *greaves*, ‡‡ *Κνημίδας*, which are mentioned as fastened previous to the arming for battle,

† See the first edition, printed at Florence in 1517, fol. p. 4. ‡ Iliad, lib. ii. ver. 44.

|| Odyssey, lib. v. ver. 44, 45.

§ Ibid. lib. xvi. ver. 80.

** Ibid. lib. xiv. ver. 23.

†† Iliad, lib. ix. ver. 206, 207, 208.

‡‡ Iliad, lib. xvi. ver. 131. and lib. xix. ver. 369.

Æthra with the circumstance; and directing her, that if such son should be born, and should arrive at man's estate, and be able to lift up the stone, and take away the weapons, she should then send him *with them* to Athens, to become his heir. All which was most exactly complied with, on all parts.

And as a stone, in this instance, was placed over these tokens, to keep them inviolable till the appointed time; and to preserve the memory of their designation. So we find, in other instances, that stones of memorial were placed over the dead; to preserve the remembrance of illustrious persons, when their bodies were deposited remote from their family sepulchres.

Thus when Rachel died, on her journey from Bethel, to Ephrath; and was buried at Bethlehem,* (instead of being carried to the cave, in the field of Machpelah, where Rebekah had been buried, and where Leah was afterwards buried †); we read, that Jacob set up a pillar upon her grave.

And when Ilus, the son of Dardanus, the antient king of Troy,

round the legs and thighs, seem to have been merely additional parts of armour, not so usually worn as the *πέδιλα*, and sword.

And indeed it is a circumstance that deserves some notice; though at first sight it appears trifling; that in the gems alluded to in Spence's *Polymetis*,‡ as representations of Mercury; where his figure is represented with the *Pedila*; yet the *toes* of the feet are visible, and without any straps crossing them; for from thence we may surely conclude, that the *πέδιλα*, in other instances, although they were not wings, yet were neither shoes, nor sandals.

I must further observe, with regard to this remarkable passage cited from Plutarch; that the words, a *Great Stone*, are *πίθων μεγάλην*: which plainly indicate a *Great Mass of Rock*, fit for a Stone Pillar; much rather than merely a large Stone: and they may therefore very well lead us to apprehend, that this Stone, placed by *Ægeus* so carefully, was full as large, and of as proper dimensions, as that set up by *Jacob*; which there is every reason to believe was reared, in like manner, by *Jacob's* own hands alone. And we may fairly conclude, that the Stone placed by *Ægeus*, on this occasion, was designed to be taken notice of, as a *Memorial*, not merely *privately* by *Æthra*, on account of what was so cautiously and secretly deposited under it; but also *openly* by *Pittheus*, and the *Træzæmians*; as a standing record of the friendship between *Ægeus*, and *Pittheus*; and of his having been in that country. I may venture to add, that unless the other cause of its being placed, had been concealed by some such general apprehensions as this; either curiosity, or idle amusement, might easily have induced the natives, with united strength, to have removed it very soon; or at least before Theseus was of age, and strength, sufficient to undertake the adventure.

* Genesis, ch. xxxv. ver. 19, 20.

† Ibid. ch. xlix. ver. 31.

‡ See Pl. XIV. fig. 5 .Pl. XV. fig. 4.

was buried in the plain before that city, his body was placed under an heap, or *barrow*; and a pillar was set upon it; for we find, in the *Iliad*, mention made most plainly, and in a very descriptive manner, both of this barrow, as an eminence; and of the pillar, as a mere single stone, from behind which, Paris taking advantage of the elevated situation, shot his arrows in one of the battles, and wounded Diomed.

Pope, in his poem, which from one end to the other, is rather a paraphrase of the *Iliad*, than a translation, describes it as if there had been a regular building.—His words are:—

“ Around the fields his feather'd shafts he sent,

“ From ancient Ilus' ruin'd monument;

“ Behind the column placed, he bent his bow,

“ And wing'd an arrow at the unwary foe.”

Iliad, Book xi. l. 475.

But the fair undisguised account given by Homer is, that *Paris shot his arrows, bending behind the pillar, placed on the tumulus, that contained the ashes of Ilus, the son of Dardanus, the antient king of Troy*: which is exactly the description of one of these rude pillars, placed on a barrow.

It appears most manifestly also, from the account given by Plutarch, that there was a pillar of the same sort placed upon the barrow of Achilles himself; under which had previously been deposited the bones of Patroclus.

A very curious account of the ceremonies attending the first raising of this tomb, or barrow, is given in 23d book of the *Iliad*; where we find customs mentioned, no less shocking to humanity, than those amongst the most barbarous Indians, or most uncivilized nations.

The body of Patroclus was first laid on the top of a great funeral pile of wood, about an hundred feet square; and was covered with the fat of beasts that were sacrificed. The carcasses of the beasts, and the bodies of Trojan captives, who were most cruelly slain in cold blood on the occasion, were then flung on the pile round the margin; and afterwards the whole was reduced to ashes. The next day the remains of the fire were extinguished, by pouring wine on

the embers; and as many fragments as could be collected of the bones of Patroclus, (which were distinguished by being found in the *very midst* of the heap) were wrapt up in fat, and put into a rich urn, having a veil of linen flung over it.

Then the whole army flung earth upon the spot where the pile had been consumed; covering the bones of the Trojans, and of the beasts, and all the ashes that remained; and rearing an high rude hill, or barrow; under which, nearly in the centre, the urn was placed; and as it should seem, in such a manner as to have a narrow passage or gallery left, leading to the spot; because Achilles expressly directed, that his own remains, when he should die, should be placed by those of his friend.

After this, solemn games were performed; and chariot races; round the Barrow; in honour of the deceased.

Here ends the account given by Homer. But in Plutarch's life of Alexander, we find; that when that Great Conqueror had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived near the ruins of Troy, he anointed, with much ceremony, *the Stone placed on the tomb, or barrow of Achilles*; poured out libations; and as the antient custom was, ran naked round the sepulchre; and crowned *the Stone* with garlands.

And it is very remarkable, that the original Greek word used by Plutarch,* to describe what his translators call *the Gravestone* of Achilles, is (*Στήλην*) or *Pillar*; the same word that is used by Homer to describe the stone pillar, on the tomb, or barrow, of *Ilus*.

There is the greatest reason also to believe that Homer intended to intimate to us, that exactly such a barrow, or tumulus, with its proper pillar at the top, was placed over the ashes of Hector.†

So also he gives us to understand, in his *Odyssey*, that over the remains of Elpenor, a tumulus or barrow was raised, on which was placed a stone pillar; and on the top of this, one of the oars of the ship was set upright.‡ The word he makes use of is *Στήλην*, which every where so uniformly denotes the rude Stone Pillar.

And Pope's translation here, conveys nearly the proper idea; only it implies more of finish and ornament, both in the barrow

* See the first edition, printed at Florence in 1517, folio, p. 283, at bottom.

† *Iliad*, Book xxiv. at the end.

‡ *Odyssey*, Book xii. ver. 14, 15.

and pillar, than the plain account given by Homer allows us to add to our idea.

“ The rising tomb a lofty column bore,
“ And high above it rose the tapering oar.”

Mention also is made, of the supposed raising of a Tumulus by all the Grecians, in honour of Ulysses; had he died, either at Troy, or amongst his friends: or in honour of Agamemnon; if he had died before the walls of Troy. Which circumstances Pope, though departing from the original simplicity of the words, describes in the two passages, in a manner, that perhaps conveys the idea of the real supposed designed Tumulus, with the pillar upon it, even better than he intended. His words are,*

“ That grateful Greece with streaming eyes might raise,
“ Historic marbles to record thy praise.”

And conformably to these more antient usages, we find a barrow, and a pillar upon it, still existing in the county of *Caterlough*, in Ireland. It is not indeed to be supposed, that just the same magnificent and expensive ceremonies had been observed *here*, as on forming the barrow for Patroclus, and Achilles: though indeed more barbarous ceremonies than those of the Trojans could not well be used. But the barrow itself, and its pillar, most minutely correspond, on a smaller scale, with what the appearance of that of Achilles must have been.

It is a Tumulus (now called *Castle More*, near Tullagh, in *Caterlough*); about thirty feet perpendicular in height;† having on the top, a square stone, five feet high; and on one side the appearance of there having been, originally, an entrance to a Cave underneath.

And there is a most remarkable well known fact, preserved on record; which was perhaps one of the last instances of the prodigious efforts often used for these kind of purposes.

Harald, the son of Gormon, employed his whole army, and a vast

* *Odyssey*, book xiv. l. 369. Book xxiv. l. 32.

† A representation of this is given in Mr. Gough's additions to Camden, Vol. III. Pl. XLIII. fig. 6. p. 529 and 533. And I have inserted a drawing of it, Pl. XI. fig. 1.

number of oxen, to draw a stone of enormous size, from the shore of Jutland, to be placed over the grave of his mother.*

A fact, which at the same time that it serves to shew how late these rude observances remained in use; explains also the very rude means by which the removal, and erecting of vast stones, was effected by barbarous nations.

After the Britons had embraced Christianity, and were somewhat more civilized; these rough, and ponderous stones, placed upright as pillars, were succeeded by those very rudely carved high stones, found in several of our most antient churchyards; as particularly at Penrith in Cumberland;† and described by so many of our antiquaries. And afterwards these latter were again succeeded by Stone Crosses placed upright; with which ended the usage of placing pillars on graves in this country.

In a somewhat similar manner, the rude stone pillars had previously been changed into the adoption of works of art, and of curious workmanship (and even into the forming of regular structures) in the most antient countries upon the face of the earth.

For in Egypt, the mother of arts; and the mother also of all abominations, we find, first, remains of the original use of rude pillars of stone; and even of mere rocks formed into the shape of pillars: of which there is a remarkable specimen, opposite to the island of *Phyle*, on the banks of the Nile.‡ And then we find these rude memorials to have been succeeded by their wondrous hieroglyphical Obelisks.

So at *Banarow*, in India, we are informed by Tavernier, § there is a very remarkable obelisk with hieroglyphics, thirty-five feet in height.

And even in Persia, where all idols were abhorred; near the ruins of the antient palace of Persepolis (whether what are so called were really the remains of the Edifice, destroyed by Alexander, or of some antient temple) are found pillars standing, with inscriptions, || which pillars cannot be numbered amongst those that supported the building.

* Wormii Mon. Dan. p. 39.

† Archaeologia, Vol. II. p. 48.

‡ See Pococke, Vol. I. p. 121.

§ Tavernier's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 32.

|| Le Bruyn's Travel's, Vol. IV. p. 320.

And in Syria, a country of no less antiquity, we find three most magnificent remains; which plainly, in this respect, speak for themselves; and shew that *they* were originally substituted, as designed funereal memorials, in the room of such rude stones, as had formerly adorned the tombs of Ilus, and Achilles.

They are described by our curious traveller Maundrell, in the following manner:

The one has the appearance of a tower, thirty-three feet in height: but consists merely, first of a single stone, as a pedestal, fifteen feet square, and ten feet high; then of a very tall vast stone, in form of a cylinder; and lastly of another stone at the top, cut in the shape of a cone, or rather of a multangular pyramid.

The other,* also resembles a tower: and consists first of a single stone as a pedestal, sixteen feet and a half square, and six feet high; having four very rudely carved figures, like lions, at the four corners; and then of one other single, round, and tapering stone; rounded, in such a manner at the top, as to be there in the form of an hemisphere: and this second stone has two rudely carved bands, or mouldings, running round near the higher part. Whilst the whole height of this pile is thirty feet.

And a third structure, of the same kind, stands at the distance of about a furlong. All of them being a little to the southward of the river Aradus; and about a quarter of a mile from the sea; and having sepulchral chambers, hewn out of the solid rock, under them; in which remain many long narrow cells, for the depositing of bodies.

But whilst the Patriarchal custom of rearing pillars of stone, was thus changed in countries where arts multiplied, and civilization advanced; so on the other hand it was transferred, in its rudest mode into, and longer preserved in, the more barbarous regions.

And amongst the instances that might be produced, of this; there is hardly any one more surprising, or curious, than that which is to be met with in Easter Island, in the South Seas:† where stone pillars, which Captain Cook calls a sort of statues, were found standing, of twenty-seven feet in height. And it is remarkable, that in

* There are drawings of both, engraved in Maundrell's Travels, p. 21; and also in the Universal History, fol. ed. Vol. I. p. 396. † See Forster's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 593; and Cook's second Voyage, Vol. I. p. 284, 294, 296. Pl. XLIX.

the same place also, there were curious remains of masonry, without cement; of much the same kind with that which has been so often met with of the antient Britons.

Perhaps I might also here, very well add, that other instance, in the Island of Tinian:* although the writer of Lord Anson's voyage conceived the pillars there to have been formerly foundations, or supports of buildings now destroyed: for the representations of them by Sir Percy Brett, are more conformable to the idea of their having been Pillars of Memorial.

And we ought not to forget, that stones are said to be set up in the island of *Sou*, or *Saou*, on the accession of every one of their kings. And that they have a solemn assembly, and a feast, at the respective stone, at each king's death.†

Besides Pillars being placed for all these kind of purposes; it is undoubtedly too true, that, as on the one hand, the spots where such memorials were placed, became in a succession of ages consecrated as it were to Solemn Public Meetings;‡ and to some Sacred Uses; (as we find *religious* assemblies were held, both at Gilgal, and at Mizpah): so, on the other hand, these memorials, through the corruption of succeeding ages, were sometimes made the occasions of idolatry.§ And such kind of pillars were, in the end, even set up as objects of idol worship themselves.

But this was a sort of abuse, and horrid abomination, over which it is better to draw a veil: and to leave it to perish in everlasting detestation, and oblivion. And especially, as it is impossible *now*, to distinguish precisely, *which* were *which*: and as the purpose of the present Inquiry is, merely to shew, what kind of Structures, and Memorials of various kinds, were reared, by those rude, first inhabitants of this Island, who were most probably less corrupted than many of their Successors; and who had not learned, to build any thing more than huts, as habitations for themselves: and preserved nearly unchanged the earliest Patriarchal Usages.

* Anson's Voyage, 8vo. ed. p. 411. + Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 693.

† See Judges, chap. xx. ver. 1. 3. Chap. xxi. ver. 1. 1 Samuel, chap. vii. ver. 5, 6. 16. Chap. x. ver. 8. Chap. xi. ver. 14, 15. § 1 Kings, chap. xii. ver. 33.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING CIRCLES OF MEMORIAL; OF OBSERVANCES; AND
OF OBSERVATION.

THE Remains that in the next place deserve our attention, after the first more simple ones; are those *Circles of Memorial, and of Observances*; that are so often called erroneously, *Druid Temples*.

That great *Stones* standing upright, were in the most antient times placed occasionally in groups, formed of several standing together, *merely by way of Memorial*; and having their numbers conformable to some particular circumstances relating to the people who placed them; or to the occasion on which they were erected; seems to appear from what we read even in the first informations we have in the world; concerning the history of the Israelites: some of whose methods of recording great events, were perhaps permitted to be in conformity with still more antient usages, in order to have them the more extensively and universally understood.

Thus, when the Law had been delivered to the people of Israel by Moses, at Mount Sinai, and had been written by Moses in a book; we are told, as the translation stands in our copy from the Hebrew,* that "*Moses builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel.*" And the translation of the Seventy expressly calls them *twelve Stones*.

And when Joshua, with his whole army, and all the people, had passed over the river Jordan; whose waters had been dried up on that occasion in a miraculous manner; (probably by means of some earthquake, or convulsion, stopping those from the upper part; whilst those below ran off, and fell away;) we are told, that in consequence of the express appointment of the Almighty, Joshua commanded *twelve men*+ to take up *twelve stones* out of the midst of Jordan;

* See Exodus, chap. xxiv. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

+ Joshua, chap. iv. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

* *And those twelve stones which they took out of Jordan did Joshua PITCH in Gilgal. And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, when your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, what mean these stones? Then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. For the Lord your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the Lord your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over: That all the people of the earth might know the hand of the Lord that it is mighty: that ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.*

Now the word *pitch*, here used in our translation; and the Greek word *τορῆεν*, which we find in the Septuagint, seem plainly to indicate, that these stones were set up *as pillars*. Although, indeed, their being carried upon men's shoulders, shews, that they must perhaps have been but small, in comparison of some other pillars set up as memorials. It shews, however, that they were chosen of a shape and form fit for that purpose. And if they were indeed *set up*, in a group, *as pillars*; there is no form in which they can be conceived to have been placed, so likely, as that of a Circle. This has been remarked by Dr. Borlase;† who also concluded, that twelve such stone pillars were so placed, by Moses, near Mount Sinai, at the time of the giving of the Law, and of Moses's going up into the mountain; because it is said,‡ that, *when he rose up early in the morning, he builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars.*

In the Septuagint, it must be confessed, the expression is such as not *necessarily* to imply any thing more, than that the altar was built with twelve stones. And it must also be acknowledged, that in the other instance mentioned, with regard to Joshua, we find Josephus saying, "that Joshua built an altar of those stones, which all the heads of the tribes had taken out of the deep; to be afterwards a Memorial of the division of the stream of the river."||

Which seems indeed, at first sight, to imply, that the altar was built with those very twelve stones; instead of their being set up as pillars.

* Joshua, chap. iv. ver. 20 to 24.

† Exodus, chap. xxiv. ver. 4.

‡ Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 195.

|| Antiquities of the Jews, book v. chap. i.

Yet, when we consider that, even in the Septuagint version of the Scripture, the Greek word used, expressly indicates that the stones were *pitched*, (or *set up*) in Gilgal; and not that they were placed to compose or form an altar: and that twelve other stones also, are expressly said to have been *set up*,* in Jordan itself, before the waters rose again, in its bed, to their usual height; it is much most reasonable to conclude, that these masses of rock were in both instances placed as *pillars*, according to the usage of the times; as a Memorial of this great event; rather than that they were so laid upon one another, as to form an altar.

It may further be added, that such a conclusion is greatly confirmed, by what must have been the case on Mount Ebal, with regard to the stones set up there.

For we read, in the Law, the command concerning *them* as follows:†

1. "It shall be on the day when you shall pass over Jordan unto the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt *set thee up great stones*, and plaister them with plaister.

3. "And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this Law, when thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, a Land that floweth with milk and honey, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee.

4. "Therefore it shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall *set up* these stones which I command you this day, in Mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.

5. "And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up *any iron tool upon them*.‡

6. "Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones: and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God.

* Joshua, chap. iv. ver. 9.

† Deuteronomy, chap. xxvii. ver. 2, 3, 4, &c.

‡ It seems as if this injunction, repeated so often in the Law, that no iron tool should be lifted up upon the stones, whereof the altar of God was to be composed, was designed emblematically to impress upon our minds the awful and just consideration, that we can indeed, at our best estate, render nothing unto God but an acknowledgment of his bounteous gifts; which we are so far from being able to add unto, or to improve to any effectual purpose, that we can hardly use them at all properly.

7. "And thou shalt offer peace offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God.

8. "And thou shalt *write upon the stones*, all the words of *this Law, very plainly.*"

Whether the writing of the words of the Law, *very plainly*, could or could not be effected without an iron tool, I will not presume to determine. But it is surely most evident, both from the circumstance that such writing was to be *upon the stones*; and from the command that they should be plastered over with plaister; that those stones could not be used, in this instance, for constructing the altar; on which both burnt-offerings were to be *consumed*, and peace-offerings offered. The words of the Law were to be written *very plainly*. And as there are exactly twelve *precepts* of the Law mentioned in this chapter, which were to be written on these stones, with the twelve denunciations; there is the strongest reason to conclude, that there were, in this instance, twelve pillars set up; and that there was a command, and a denunciation, written on each pillar.

And however this matter may have been; here were, in each one of these instances, twelve *stones* placed as *Stones of Memorial*, designed to be referred to, as records, in after ages.

We have a proof also of such sort of stone circles existing in other parts of the East. For Chardin tells us,* that between *Tauris* and *Sultanie*, in Media, they saw "on the left hand side of their road, " *great Rounds (or Circles)* of free-stone, which the Persians say are " marks that *the Caous*, or *Kaous*, the antient giants of the Persians, " held their councils there, when they made war upon Media. It " being the custom of those people, that each chieftain who entered " into the council should bring a stone with him, to serve him for " a seat. But," says Chardin, " the wonder consists in attending to " the bulk of the stones; they being so large that eight men could " hardly move any one of them;+ and of such a kind of stone, that

* Voyages de Chardin, Tom. I. p. 192. ed. 1711.

+ Surely we may be allowed to conclude, that on such an occasion, each Chieftain might be at liberty to employ as many of his men as he pleased, to convey such stone, by means of ropes, and poles, upon their shoulders. And I do not know that we are forbidden to annex the same idea, to the conveyance of the stones from the bottom of Jordan, by the command of Joshua.

“they could not have been brought from any less distance, than
“from mountains six leagues off.”

We find therefore *here*, an account of Stone Circles, which agrees exactly with the description of those in our own country. And their being referred by tradition to the time of the giants, plainly shews they were of the highest antiquity.

The corruptions of later ages, in other countries, as well as in Palestine, and Syria, and Media, introduced undoubtedly much superstition, both as to the *form*, and the *mode* of placing such stones; and also as to certain dances, or solemn circuits (the invention of blind superstition) to be made round them. And hence, are derived the many variations in the form of the construction of Circles of rude Stone Pillars; which have given occasion to a great variety of learned and ingenious conjectures. With such I shall not interfere; but must plainly observe, that from what is recorded concerning the most antient usages; there can scarcely remain a doubt in the mind, but that some of these circles were used as Courts; or as places for electing Kings, and Governors, and for holding Councils, and for trying causes.—Some of them were for mere Memorials, of great Events.—Some were for making the superstitious walks, and turnings; or dances three *times round*, so often mentioned,* both by poets, and writers of old romances; and of which kind of dances, there are remains to be found, amongst the more sequestered tribes of modern rustics, in Scotland, in Ireland, and in America, even to this day.†—Some were for the exhibition of public Games, and Spectacles.—And some for Sacrifices.

And it may be remarked, that although the number of stones in these Circles is not uniformly the same: some being of nine stones;

At the same time, it may surely be allowed to be remarked; that as to each stone serving for a seat:—from its great bulk it could not so well serve for a seat *to sit upon*; as for a station, *at which to sit*.—And the considering the matter in this light, will both illustrate many curious passages of antient history; and render several curious remains of antiquity more intelligible.

* Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 129.

† Thus in Martin's Description of the Western Isles (p. 248.) we read, that the natives of *Collonsay* Isle are accustomed, on their arrival in *Oronsay* Isle, to make a tour, sun-ways, about the church. And in the Isle of *Egg*, there is a heap of stones, called *Martin Dessil*, about which the natives oblige themselves to make a tour round, sun-ways, p. 277.

some of nineteen; and some of many more; yet the most usual number of which they are found to have been composed, is *twelve*.

There are also some of these circles, found to have been most curiously and nicely erected, *on geometrical plans*, so as to have either the chief entrances, or some particular stones, in a line facing the cardinal points of the heavens; * or at least only deviating therefrom in such manner, as may well be accounted for, either from the precession of the equinoctial points since their erection; or from the variation of the needle. Which circumstance induces me to add, with the more earnestness, one further conclusion, to the many that have been formed with regard to these circles:—a conclusion, which I am firmly persuaded deserves to have the support of more numerous and exact observations, on the very spots, than it has ever been in my power to make.

It is well known, from the accounts given us by antient writers, that the British Druids were particularly well skilled in the science of astronomy; as far as that science had been previously improved in those early ages; and that some further improvements were even made by themselves.

Cæsar, after having informed us that the science and mode of education amongst the Druids in Gaul, was understood to be derived from the Druids in Britain, (where indeed they seem to have fixed, in the first instance, their principal establishment, on account of its retirement from the rest of the world; and on account of its security as an island; as they did afterwards, and finally, in *Anglesey*); informs us, + that “they taught many things to their scholars *concerning the Stars*, and their motion; concerning the magnitude of the world, and the regions of the earth; and concerning the natural history of things.”

And Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the same persons, in Gaul, (whom according to the copies of his history that have come down

* Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 193—see also p. 115; where it is remarked, that Dr. Stukeley found the Circles at *Stone-henge* to be so placed, as to have the meridional diameter at the variation of between six and seven degrees to the East of the north. And those at *Abury*, so as to have that diameter about ten degrees the same way. See also Stukeley's own account in his *Abury*.

+ De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. sect. 13.

to us, he calls *Σαρυίδας*, *Saruids*)* says they were both *philosophers* and *divines*.

And Strabo, who divides the whole body of these (the only scientific and learned men of the western regions of Europe,) into *three* classes; the *Bards*; the *Teachers*, (or *Prophets*;) and the *Druids* (properly so called);—says, the *Bards* sing *Hymns*, and compose *Poems*:—the *Teachers*, are those who officiate at the sacrifices; and speak concerning *Natural History*;—and the *Druids*, besides *Natural History*, cultivate *Moral Philosophy*.—And that they declare, *that souls, and the world, are incapable of perishing by means of corruption: and that fire and water shall at length prevail.*+ That is, if the words can have any meaning well annexed, *shall prevail to the restoration of both.*

ἐπικρατήσων δὲ ποτὲ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.

I have ventured to give the translation of this passage as nearly and closely as possible, as it stands in the original Greek; and the rather; because it is so very remarkable, on account of its congruity with the first traditions of mankind, as recorded in Scripture; and even with doctrines of Revelation afterwards delivered.

We see therefore, that the body of the then only learned men, in these parts, commonly called *Druids*; (from whom even *Pythagoras* is apprehended to have obtained some useful information, if not the best part of his knowledge,)‡ were acquainted, in a degree, both with some certain branches of *Natural Philosophy*; and with *Astronomy*.

And as the latter Science could neither be improved, nor indeed be made at all useful, without some sort of *Instruments for Observation*, however rude or rough such might have been; or without some means of determining certain particular points in the heavens; we may fairly suspect, and indeed almost positively conclude, when we actually find certain of the great perpendicular stones, in so many of these *Druidical Circles* so very carefully placed *in, or near the*

* Diodorus, lib. v. 213, p. 354. And see a learned Note concerning *this name*, in the edition of *Wesselingius*.

+ Strabo, lib. iv. Paris ed. 197. p. 302, ed. Amst.

‡ Strom, lib. i. p. 357. Borlase, p. 74. Alexander Polyhistor in Clemens Alexandrinus expressly says, that *Pythagoras* heard both the *Druids*, and the *Brachmans*.

meridian of the spot; whilst others are placed as cautiously exactly to the east and west of the centre; and that the rest (although placed obviously with as great care) are yet set at very and strangely unequal distances in the periphery of the Circle; we may, I say, fairly suspect, that all these were so placed, with real design, to answer the purpose of rude astronomical instruments; in a manner somewhat similar to the use of the *Azimuth Compass*; and of the *Astrolabe*: and might answer the end, at least as well as the Azimuthal Horizon, described by Father Le Comte;* which was so magnificently, and so carefully erected, under the direction of the Jesuits, in China.

Part of the intent might be, that by looking along the edges, or sides, of two opposite stones in the circle, certain determinate points, either in the horizon, or at certain elevations above it, might at fixed times be marked out: from whence an observer might be enabled to ascertain precise points in the ecliptic or zodiac; and to ascertain more easily the varying distances of the planets from certain fixed stars; and might, by that means, the better observe their motions.

At least such instruments might enable them to ascertain the identical places of the rising and setting of certain fixed stars: and to preserve the knowledge of the times of their rising, and setting, throughout the year; even when, from their proximity to the sun, they became invisible.

At the same time also, by means of the different heights of the stone pillars, certain and different altitudes, both in the meridian, and in azimuths, might be observed in the heavens; and though rudely, yet with some degree of precision be determined, by an observer standing at the opposite corresponding stone, on the verge of the circle (that is, at the opposite end of the diameter,) and having his eye placed at a determinate height from the ground, either by means of a staff, or of some known mark in the side of the stone.

They might also, by means of the combined effect of the relative position of the shadows of the several stones, (which, when compared with the situation of the stones themselves, would be varying

* Account of China, p. 66.

almost every minute,) the more accurately distinguish the hours, or portions of the day: and cause the Sun, and also the Moon, to become the more useful, for that very purpose, for which we are told, in Holy Writ, the two great luminaries of the heavens were ordained; that is to be *for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years.**

It would be not unworthy the attention of some good practical astronomer, in order the more fully to ascertain this matter, to take accurately the bearings of the opposite stones in some of those *circles* which remain in the best state: and to compare those bearings with the corresponding parts of the horizon of the place, upon a globe; and to observe how such parts were intersected by the parallels of declination of some of the most remarkable fixed Stars, at their rising, and setting: making at the same time due allowance for the precession of the Equinoxes, during the lapse either of two, or three thousand years.

We might, by that means, perhaps discover, almost with precision, what the astronomical skill of the antient Druids really was; and what was the more immediate purpose of their observations.

And this I venture to mention; although I am well aware, that in the latter days of Druidism the grossest superstition, and ignorance, was become so prevalent, that even some of those actually called *Cerrig Brudyn*, or *Astronomers' Stones*, might be stupidly reared without the least regard to those proper adjustments, which the original use required.

Some it is probable would be discovered of an earlier and more cautious construction, that would develop the designed primæval use.

And in conformity to these ideas it may further be remarked, that most of the very distinguished Druidical circles are placed on eminences, commanding a free and extensive horizon.

Thus, one of them is situated near the high summit of *Cader Idris*, or *Caer-Edris*, in Merionethshire; and is even to this day called *Cerrig Brudyn*, or the *Astronomers' Stones*, or *Circle*:—on beholding which it ought to be remembered, that it is allowed by all

* Genesis, chap. i. ver. 14.

the most learned,* that the antients denoted *Astronomy* itself by the name *Edris*: a name attributed to *Henoah*, or *Enoch*, who has ever been deemed the first founder of that Science.

There is also a circle of stones in Caermarthenshire, which there is very great reason to think answered the same sort of purpose. It is erected on a mountain near *Kil y maen Llwyd*, and is called *Buarth Arthur*, or *Meineu Gwyr*.† The diameter of this circle is about sixty feet: and the stones are extraordinary rude; pitched, on end, at uncertain intervals, of three, four, or six feet; and being from three to six feet high. Only fifteen are standing; and, at least seven or eight seem to have been carried off. The entrance, for about three yards, is guarded on each side by lower or smaller stones contiguous to each other: and opposite to this avenue, at the distance of about three hundred paces, stand three other large rude stones.

And the well known circles of stones, at Stanton Drew, in Somersetshire, seem to have been designed for astronomical observations, and for superstitious rites conjointly. The principal one there, forms, like that at Stone Henge, in reality a sort of ellipsis, of about 330 by 260 feet, and not a regular circle. And there are stones

* See *Mona Antiqua*, p. 44. To which it may be added, that perhaps the Patriarchal skill of the Druids in Astronomy, and the degree of science which, according to Cæsar's account, they had attained unto, notwithstanding the rudeness of their instruments; as also that of the Chaldeans; and such ideas of dividing time, by means of observing the motion of the heavenly bodies, as are found to have been preserved either in Egypt, or in India, or even in Peru, as well as in Britain; may best be accounted for, by deducing the first origin of the whole, from a circumstance, the memorial whereof, we find from Josephus, was preserved by an antient tradition amongst the Jews:—that the most religious of the long lived Antediluvian Fathers, who were the most direct descendants of *Seth*, had employed much of their time in putting together successive astronomical observations; the remembrance of the first of which had been preserved by the posterity of *Shem*.

And hence perhaps we may the more easily account for the reverence attached to all who were skilled in such kind of science, in the barbarous ages of the world: and for the usual connection which those possessed of such knowledge, like the Magi, and the Druids, and the Egyptian Priests, and Bramins, ever have had both with legislation and government.

Josephus, consistently with such tradition, even goes so far as to intimate, (*Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 3. sec. 9.*) that Almighty God afforded those first ancestors of mankind a longer time of life, because of their virtuous exertions, and because of the good use they made of their time, in astronomical and geometrical discoveries; for which a long period of life was necessary.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 310.

cautiously placed nearly on each side of the meridian; two at the one end, for a sort of observer's index, and two at the other, as if designed for *leading* sights to direct the eye to certain points in the heavens equally distant, a little to the east and west of the south: and so in like manner two to the east, and one on the west side for an index; as if to observe the rising of certain stars and planets. The rest of the stones of this circle are at most *unequal* distances;* but yet apparently fixed in their situations with great circumspection. Within the circuit appears, lying on the ground, a great altar stone, as at Stone Henge, placed towards the east; and at some distance on the outside of the circle, in the same direction, is a great and high stone of memorial. All these circumstances should be borne in mind, to compare them with other remains of a similar kind.

The stones in general are in height, from 8 to 14 feet; which would lead the eye of an observer to a considerable height in any azimuth circle; and from 6 to 8 or 10 broad; and 3 or 4 feet thick.

Near adjoining to this great circle of stones, are two other smaller ones, which seem plainly to have been mere appendages to this.

And not far off, towards the north-east, on an high hill, is an antient fortress containing about thirty acres, called *Stanton Bury*; which appears to have been British; whilst at the same time a number of barrows, on the top of Mendip hill, point out the former residence of many Britons, and Druids, of high rank, in these parts; as well as near Stone Henge.

Thus much for Astronomical Circles:—as to the rest, there would be no end hardly of enumerating the many curious remains, which might be named, to illustrate the general observations concerning such circles having been designed, for superstitious dances, and other superstitious rites; for courts of judicature; for inaugurations; and for councils. Whilst yet, at this distance of time, it is impossible for us to ascertain precisely which were which.

For illustration therefore of their general appearance solely, I shall only add one or two representations, and a few general descriptions.

* Plans and Views of the whole may be seen in Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 81. Wood's Description of Bath, p. 147, 159. And somewhat more correctly in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1785, p. 762.

Pl. V. Fig. 1. represents the plan of a Druidical Circle, on the hill of *Fiddess*, in the Highlands of Scotland; of which Mr. Anderson gives us a very curious account; * informing us at the same time, that there are several others, in that country, which he has examined; and that they are for the most part placed upon an eminence, and usually on that side of it which declines towards the south; and seem to have been all formed after one sort of plan, with little variation.

This on *Fiddess* hill, is forty-six feet in diameter, and consists of nine long stones marked C, placed on end, in circular form, at distances nearly equal, but not exactly so. The area E, within this circle, is smooth, and somewhat lower than the ground around it. By this means, and by means of a small bank carried quite round between the stones, which is still a little higher than the adjacent ground on the outside; the circular area has been most distinctly defined. Between two stones that are nearest the meridian line, on the south side of the area, is laid on its side, a long stone (A); at each end of which are placed two other stones, smaller than any of those that form the outer circle. These are a little within the circle, and at a somewhat greater distance from one another. And still further within the line are placed two other stones; which, with the two former, are marked DDDD in the Plan. Behind, or rather within the large stone, the earth is raised something more than a foot higher than the rest of the Circular Area; this is shewn at (B). Mr. Anderson conceives this eminence to have been the station of some officiating Priest or Druid, at some solemn rites. But it was surely rather the seat of the *presiding Judges*.—And it is material to add, that of the many circles of stones which Mr. Anderson examined, he observed there was not the mark of any tool upon any of them; and that they were seldom less than 6 or 8 feet in length, (or rather in height), and usually about 10 or 12, and sometimes 16. And in the shire of Nairn, he says, where thin flat stones much abound, he saw some structures of this kind, where the stones almost touched one another all round.

Corresponding with these accounts, Dr. Garden informs us, † that

* *Archaeologia*, Vol. V. p. 246.

† *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 312.

in the north parts of Scotland there are many of these circles of large, tall, unpolished stones, set upon one end; most frequently consisting of one circle only; and of stones at nearly equal distances; but sometimes having towards the south, or south-east, a large broad stone standing on edge, and filling up the whole space between two of the stones; and sometimes having an inward circle of smaller stones; and in one instance, which he saw, having three concentric circles.

Mr. Pennant also mentions having seen some remarkable antiquities of a similar kind in the Isle of Arran.*

There are, he says, on the plain of *Tormore*, the remains of four circles in a line, extending north-east by south-west; very few of the stones indeed are standing to perfect the inclosure; but those that do remain shew what each circle was, and are of a great size, and stand remote from one another. One of them is even 15 feet high, and 11 feet in circumference. And on the outside of these circles are two others; one whereof differed from all he had before seen, consisting of a double circle of stones, and a mound within the lesser circle.

And about a mile from *Connel*,† in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Mull, near the site of what is supposed to have been a British town; he also saw another Druidical circle, formed of round stones placed close together, inclosing an area 26 feet in diameter, and having an erect pillar 7 feet high, about the distance of 10 feet from the outside.

And in Wales, as indeed we might reasonably expect, he met with still more perfect remains.

For in the neighbourhood of *Cors-y-Gedol*, on a flat plain, in the mountainous country surrounding Snowdon, are two remarkable circles; the first about 56 feet in diameter, formed of piles of loose stones, with upright columns placed at five yards distance from each other, *in pairs*, so as nearly to divide the circle in four parts: and the other, about thirty yards distance, formed of several upright stones, among smaller, but placed with less regularity; nevertheless in such a manner, that design, not chance, seems certainly

* Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 180.

† Ibid. p. 357.

to have directed the founders of these circles in the disposition of every one of the columnar stones.*

Half a mile south of these circles, on the side of an hill, also are some great Cromlechs.

Near *Glenenny*, in the same tract of country, on *Bwlch Craigwen*, is a fine Druidical circle, consisting still of thirty-eight stones.† And at a mile's distance, and within sight of this, above *Penmorva*, is another.

In Cumberland also, not far from Keswick, on the summit of a broad and high hill, is an oval circle about thirty-four yards from north to south, and near thirty from east to west, formed of forty stones, many of which are now fallen down, some inward, and others outward; ‡ and having on the north side two larger than the rest, standing five feet and a half above the soil; and having also, on the east side, a small rectangular area, parted off by ten stones; where seems to have been the altar.

In Derbyshire also, on *Hartle Moor*, is a Druid circle, consisting at present only of six stones; one of which is 17 feet high. But there is reason to conclude, that it consisted originally of nine stones. This has been well described, and represented, by Major Rooke; || who has also given a good representation of another circle of nine stones, on Stanton Moor near Rowter, which had a single stone standing at 34 yards west from it; and seems also to have had another single stone, originally placed in the centre.

And it may be observed, that these circles, so containing a single stone in the centre, seem above all others to have been designed for civil and legal solemnities; and for inaugurations; and for holding of councils, (the King, or Chieftain, according to the most antient usage, standing by the pillar, in the midst, and the great officers standing by their respective pillars, in their proper stations around him.) And of these circles, one of the most complete seems to be that described by Borlase, at Boscawen-un, in Cornwall,** of which,

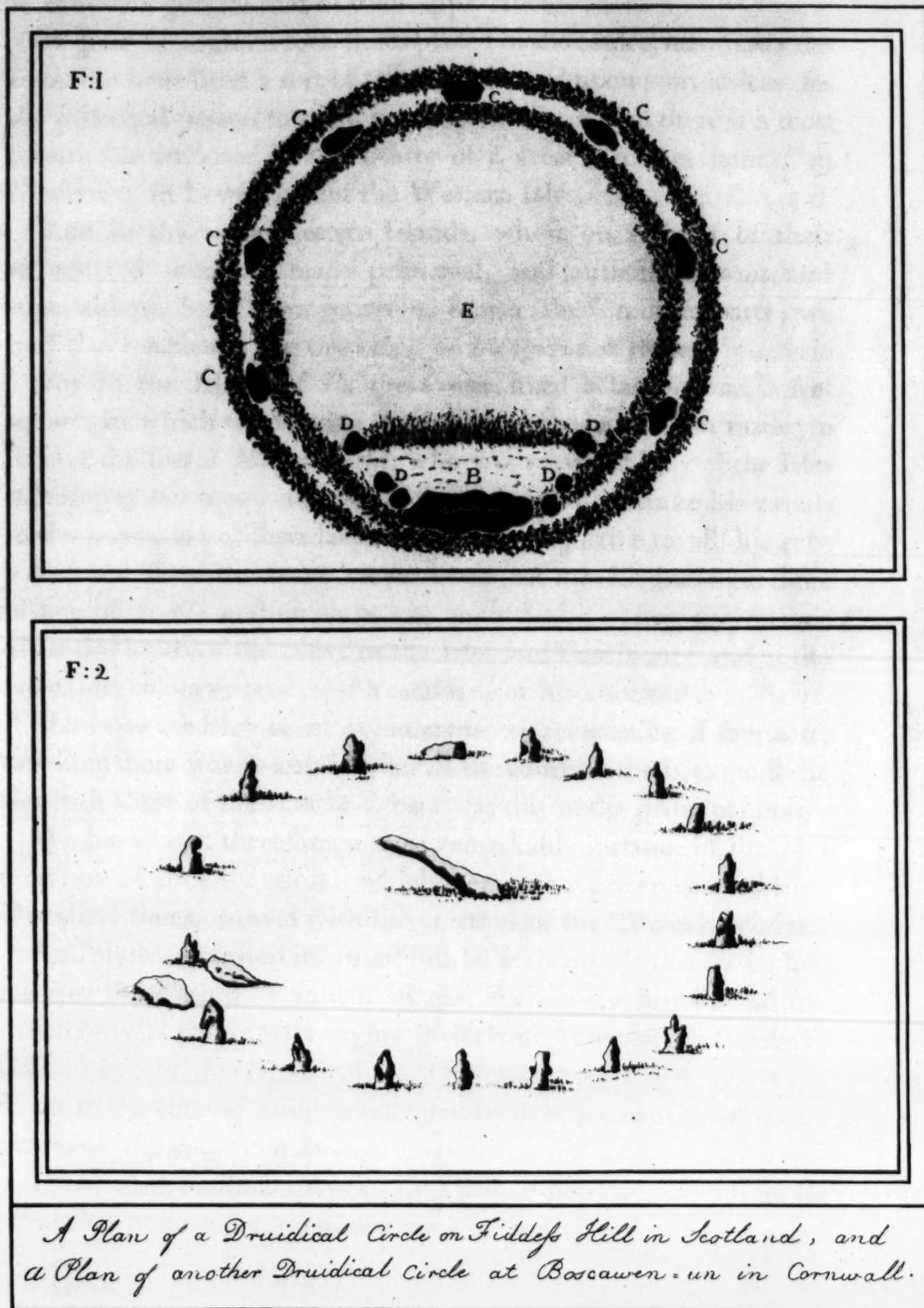
* Journey to Snowdon, p. 116.

† Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 189.

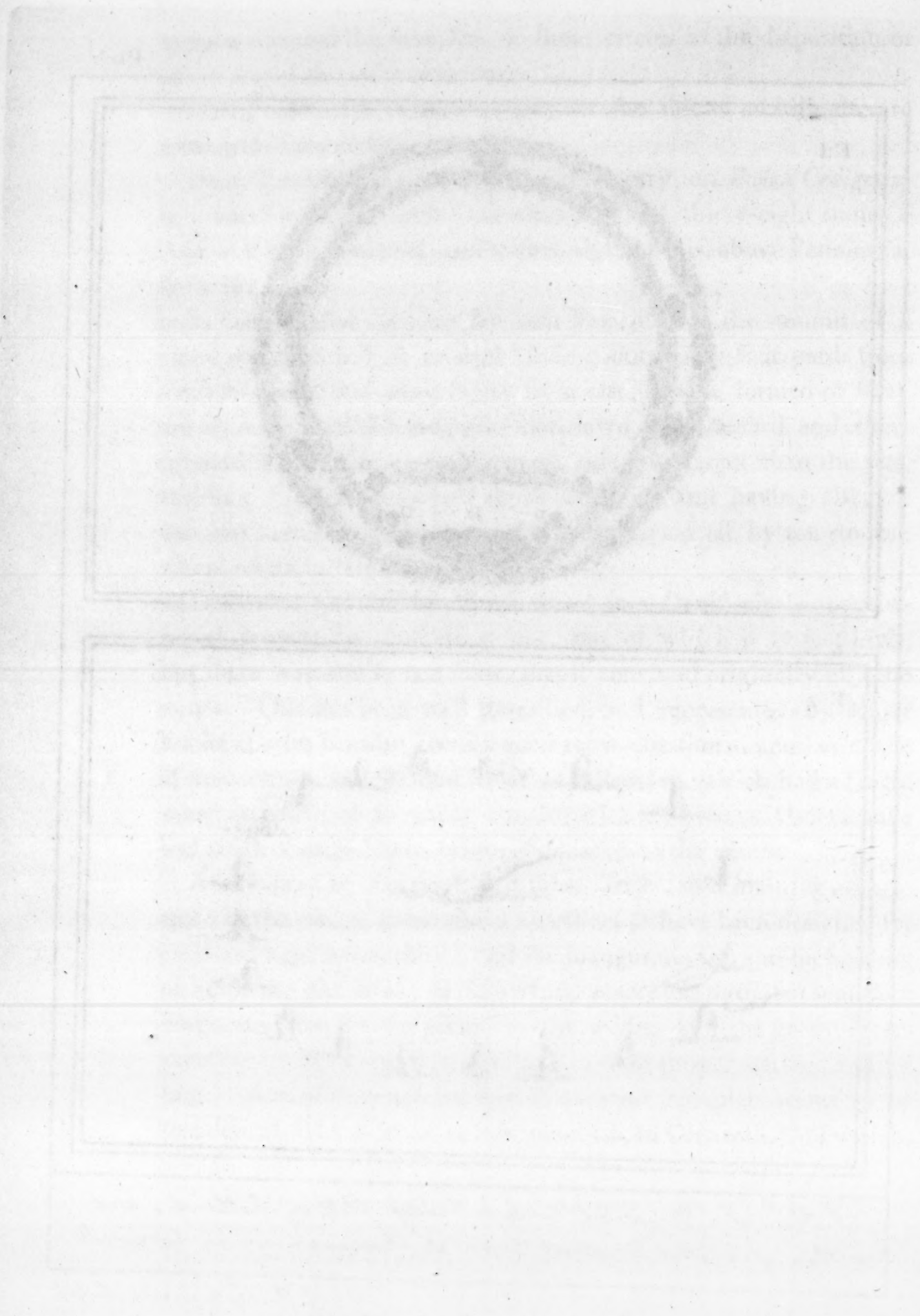
‡ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 38. and Pl. I. fig. 1. There is a view also of this circle in the Antiquarian Repertory. Vol. I. p. 239.

|| In the Archaeologia, Vol. VI. p. 113.

** Antiquities of Cornwall; p. 205.



G. Richardson, & Son, Sculp.



therefore, I shall borrow the representation, Pl. IV. fig. 2. in order to convey a general idea of their appearance.

A great stone also is sometimes placed in the centre, manifestly designed to have been a sort of tribunal to stand upon; or, at least for the principal person to stand near unto it; of which there is a most remarkable instance in the centre of a great circle of stones,* at *Classerness*, in Lewis, one of the Western Isles.

And in the same Western Islands, where on account of their sequestered situation, many primæval, and antient customs, and superstitions, have been preserved longer than in other parts; we find also remains of the *Crowning, or Inauguration* stone.

For in the Island of *Ila* there was fixed a large stone, 7 feet square, in which there was a cavity or deep impression made, to receive the feet of *Mack-Donald*, who was crowned king of the Isles standing in *this stone*; and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands; and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hand; and the bishop of *Argyle*, and seven priests anointed him king, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the Isles and Continent: and at the same time an orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors.†

Here also the high court of judicature sat, consisting of fourteen; to whom there was an appeal from all the courts in the Isles; and the eleventh share of the sum in debate was due to the principal judge.

We have here, therefore, a most remarkable instance of the preservation of antient customs, which seem to have been derived from Druidical times, coæval with the erection of the circles of stones.

And on this occasion it cannot but be recollected, that in conformity to these kind of antient usages, there were furious and destructive wars continually raging in Ireland, between the family of O'Donnel and the family of the O'Neals, from age to age, even down to the time of king James, merely in order to acquire dominion over the county of Donegall, by virtue of obtaining the ceremony of inauguration, attended by a sort of popular election, to be performed at a stone near *Kilmacrenan*.‡

* Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 9.

† Ibid. p. 241.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 639. The savage character and ideas of these chieftains to the last is described by Speed, p. 863.

And Spencer does not hesitate to affirm, that it was a continued custom amongst the Irish, presently after the death of any of their chief lords, or captains, to assemble themselves to a place generally appointed, and known to them, to choose another in his stead; where, says he, for the most part they do not elect the eldest son, but the next of blood that is the eldest and worthiest. And, on that occasion, they use to place him upon a stone, placed commonly upon an hill. In some of which stones, says Spencer, I have seen formed and engraven a foot; which they say was the measure of their first captain's foot; whereon he standing received an oath to preserve the customs of the country, and had a wand delivered unto him by a proper officer, with which in his hand, descending from the stone, he turned himself round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.*

Of the original custom of chieftains standing, on certain great occasions, by a pillar, or at, or upon some great stone, there are also many most antient proofs, on record.

Thus, we are told, that when Abimelech was suddenly elevated to the Regal Dignity, that he was made King, *by the Pillar that was in Shechem*;† which celebrated pillar was the same great stone that had been set up by Joshua under an oak;‡ and which therefore was called, as the original words imports, and as it is rendered in the margin of our Bibles, *the Oak of the Pillar*: or as the Septuagint renders it, *the Oak of the Station*.

And even when Saul was made King there was some sort of compliance with this custom; for we read that it was at *Gilgal* that the kingdom was confirmed to him; at which place were the celebrated stones before mentioned, pitched by Joshua, as it should seem, in a circle: and near which was also an altar unto the Lord.

Come, and let us go to Gilgal, said Samuel to the People, || *and renew the Kingdom there*.

And all the people went to Gilgal, and there they made *Saul King before the Lord in GILGAL*: and there they sacrificed sacrifices of peace offerings before the Lord: and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly.

* L'Estrange's ed. of Spencer's Works, p. 203.

† Judges, chap. ix. ver. 6.

‡ Joshua, chap. xxiv. ver. 26.

|| 1 Samuel, chap. xi. ver. 14. 15,

And again at Gilgal it was, that the people were called together after Saul to fight against the Philistines.* At a time when it is very remarkable they were so ill armed and provided with weapons, that none had swords, or spears, except those who were more immediately about the persons of Saul, and Jonathan.†

So again, when Adonijah was by the assistance of Joab and Abiathar intended to be raised to the Throne; and attempted to be proclaimed King of Israel; it was by the *Stone of Zohemoth*, which is by Enrogel;‡ where he assembled his brethren and friends, and made a great feast on the occasion.

And in like manner, in conformity with this sort of more antient usage, even after the building of the Temple, we are told, that Jehoshaphat, after he had been preserved from being slaughtered in his infancy by Athaliah, and had been some years secreted by the Priest Jehoida in the House of the Lord, when at last he was brought forth to recover the kingdom, *stood by a Pillar, AS THE MANNER WAS, and the Princes and those that blowed the trumpets by him*;§ and there he took the oath, and had the crown put upon his head.

And Josiah, when, on a most remarkable and solemn occasion, he had renewed to the Jews the knowledge and the teaching of the law; in a great assembly of the nobles, and of the people in the Temple, || *stood by a Pillar, and made a Covenant before the Lord.*

And as we have this testimony concerning the usage, of standing by a *Stone, or Pillar*; so have we also testimony concerning the solemn use of *Stone Circles*.—For Cæsar has told us, concerning the Gaulish Druids, “whom he says were imitators of the British “Druids, and derived from them their customs and science;”** that at a certain time of the year “they sat in a certain *Consecrated Place*: “to which all that had controversies came from every part around, “and submitted to their judgments and decrees. And that they “determined concerning all disputes, publick and private; concerning murder; concerning the rights of inheritance; and concerning the boundaries of land.”

* 1 Samuel, chap. xiii. v. 4.

† Ibid. ver. 22.

‡ 1 Kings, chap. i. ver. 9.

§ 2 Kings, chap. xi. ver. 14, 17.

|| Ibid. chap. xxiii. v. 3.

** De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. sect. 13.

And Epiphanius, who was born and lived in Syria, also describes an *open Cirque*, as a place of prayer, formed by the antient Samaritans; (which *Cirque* is with great propriety referred to, by the author of the Louthiana.)*

And it ought by no means to be forgotten, that Homer, in his fine description of the Shield of Achilles, represents the elders of a nation, (when assembled on occasion of a murder, and to decree whether a fine should be allowed in such an instance, or not;) as sitting in a ring, on stones, (or at stones) in a sacred place. Which description Pope thus paraphrases, and almost turns into burlesque,

On seats of stone within the sacred place,
The Rev'rend Elders nodded o'er the case;
Alternate, each th' attesting sceptre took,
And rising solemn each his sentence spoke.
Two golden talents lay amidst, in sight,
The prize of him who best adjudged the right.

Iliad, book xviii. l. 585.

But whoever takes the trouble to consult the original, will find a much more dignified description; which, whilst it agrees with the use of the circle of stones on these occasions, on the one hand; agrees, also on the other, with an antient custom that has passed over into America, and is preserved amongst several of the Indian nations, of delivering a sort of sacred sceptre, in regular order, to him who was to speak in council: for the literal translation+ of the lines in Homer, is

Κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
Εἶατ' ἐπὶ ἑστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ·
Σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χερσὶ ἔχον ἡεροφάνων,
Τοῖσιν ἐπεῖτ' ἤισσον, ἀμοιβῆδ' ὁ ἐδίκαζον.
Κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
Τῶ δόμεν, ὅς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἶπη.

The Heralds at length appeased the populace. And the Elders sat on (or at) ROUGH HEWN STONES, within a SACRED CIRCLE. And held in their hands the sceptral rods of the loud proclaiming Heralds.

* Louthiana, book iii. p. 10.

+ Iliad, lib. xviii. ver. 503, &c.

To which (or on receiving which) they then rose from their seats; and in alternate order gave judgment: whilst in the midst lay two talents of gold, to be bestowed on him, who, WITH THESE, should pronounce the rightest sentence.

That is, who on receiving the sceptral rod should propose the best Decree.

And as to the Americans, Cadwallader Colden* tells us; that, at a conference, the Sachem, or Indian Chief who presides, has a *bundle* of small sticks in his hand: and as soon as the speaker has finished any one article of his speech, he gives a stick to another Sachem,† who is particularly to remember that article; and so when another article is finished, he gives a stick to another, to take care of that other; and so on.

Exactly similar to which, is the account given by Hennepin of the Iroquois;‡ amongst whom their President, or Speaker, in the midst of an assembly consisting of forty-two old Indians, having several little pieces of wood laid on the ground before him, took up each of them in due order, and held it in his hand, as long as he was answering to each particular article of the proposals that had been made.

This holding of the *sticks*, surely seems exactly conformable to Homer's Elders receiving the Herald's sceptral rods, and then with them in the hand, beginning each to pronounce judgment.

And I must add, that as all these assemblies seem to have been held by the Chieftains sitting in a circle; so there is an account in Picart's Religious Ceremonies, § of the manner in which the Calumet, or

* See his curious Account of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, p. 100.

† Consistently with the account of the rods here mentioned by Colden, in Canada, Beverley in his History of Virginia, p. 157, informs us, that the native Indians of Virginia had a tobacco pipe, bigger than those for common use, in each community; adorned with wings and feathers of birds, and other ornaments; and that when strangers came amongst them, either as friends or enemies, they filled this pipe with tobacco, before the face of the strangers, and lighted it; and the chief Indian took the pipe, and taking two or three whiffs, presented it to the hands of the chief stranger, who, if he came in peace, took it, and presented it to the next man of the district: but if it were refused, it was a sign of war. An account, which it is surely almost impossible to read without bringing to mind the origin of the use of the Caduceus of Mercury.

‡ Hennepin's new Discovery of a vast Country in America, p. 58.

§ Religious Ceremonies, Vol. III. p. 93, and Pl. I. p. 73.

Pipe Rod, passes from hand to hand, in such a circle, in an assembly of the *Canadian*, and *Mississippi Indians*, previous to their going to war, or undertaking any great enterprize : and also an account of a Calumet dance, at the same time. And he has given us two representations ; one of this Mississippian Calumet ; and one of the Virginian Calumet.*

And that the holding these pipes, and rods, in their hands was designed to assist and strengthen the memory on the occasion, by a certain association of ideas, may be concluded, not only from the account given by Cadwallader Colden ; but also from a usage which we find still retained by other barbarous Indians, in the South Seas. For Mr. Forster informs us, that *Mahine*, or *Hedeedee*, who went once round the South Pole with Captain Cooke, and himself ; made use of a bundle of small sticks as a journal.+

To return to other proofs of Elders, and Senators sitting on stones (or *at stones*) in council, or to decree justice, in the most antient times ; we have still another most remarkable one, in Homer :

When Alcinous assembled his council ; they sat, we are told, by the sea side ; (and therefore manifestly in the open air) ἐπὶ ἑστῶσι λίθοισι, ‡ which I should translate, *on plain hewn stones* (or rather *at plain hewn stones*) ; though Pope is pleased to translate it,

Then to the Council seat they bend their way,
And fill the shining Thrones along the bay.

Other instances might be produced. And those who wish to pursue this inquiry further, will find several curious facts mentioned by various authors.

They will also find, in antient writings, many tending to shew even the continuance of the use of stone circles, on various occasions ; as of public inaugurations, and of councils ; even so late as

* See also Hennepin's Discovery, p. 95.

+ Forster's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 530, 601, 311, 421, &c. ‡ Odyssey, book viii. line 6.

§ That the preposition ἐπὶ with a dative case, signifies full as properly *at*, meaning, *at a certain station* ; as *on*, or *upon* ;—is obvious from a variety of passages that might be cited ; as ἐπὶ ποταμῷ, and ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ, cited by H. Stephens from *Thucydides* : and as ἐπὶ θύρῃσι, and ἐπὶ θύραις, cited also by him, from *Homer*, and *Aristophanes*.—See H. Stephens, fol. i. p. 1210, 1211 ; and Vigerus de Idiotismis, p. 602.

the fourteenth century; * in the northern parts of Germany; in Sweden; in Denmark; and in the Western Isles.

Such Circles also, without any positive record of their use, are to be met with in Iceland; in Shetland; and in the Isle of Man; where they are even called by a name that plainly indicates a *Forum*, or place of Justice. † And in the Marquises of Brandenburg, the Dutchy of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and other parts of Germany. ‡ And in Scandinavia, § and in Norway they are to be met with again.

All which only tends to prove, that the Norwegians, and Danes, and Germans, derived similar usages with the Britons, from the same remote, common, and primitive ancestors: but does no more lead us to conclude that any of these structures in Britain (several of which appear in parts of the island where the Danes never came) were the works of the Danes; as some writers have hastily supposed; any more than that those in Scandinavia, and Norway, and Germany, were the works of the Britons.

They were merely works, consistent with the usages, of those primitive ancestors, from whom the people, in all these several countries, were equally descended.

And there is a circumstance, the mention whereof ought not to be omitted, on this occasion; which is, that in conformity with the idea of *Circular stones* being originally, by antient custom, properly connected with the administration of justice; the Phareans, in Greece, in the middle of their *Forum*, erected thirty cubes of stone round their *Mercurius Agoræus*. ||

The Circles designed particularly, by the Britons, for the superstitious *Turnings round*, and *Dances*, cannot perhaps at this distance of time be precisely ascertained, or distinguished, from the others appropriated to the administration of justice. But these superstitious observances themselves, are well known to have continued in use, amongst the descendants of the antient Britons, ** even down to very late ages.

* Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 205. Wormius, p. 87, 90.

† Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 68. Keysler, p. 78. ‡ Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 193.

§ Dalhbery, L. iii. tab. 280.

|| Pausan. Acha, lib. vii. c. 22.

** See the Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 194.

And it deserves to be well noticed, again on this occasion, what a striking and remarkable conformity is to be found in the manners of all those called aboriginal people, in every part of the earth, as to some certain usages; which therefore shew their original connection with the few patriarchal families who first repeopled this globe; whose superstitions were increased to an enormous height, even before the days of Abraham.

For whilst we meet with these Circles of stones in so many parts of Europe; and are acquainted with such striking remains of superstitious *Turnings round*, and Dances, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and in many Northern parts of Europe; we find nearly the same sort of observance actually kept up, till within a very few years, amongst the Virginian Indians, in America.

Beverley informs us,* concerning them; that their dancing is sometimes performed by a great number of people: the dancers forming a ring, and moving *round a circle of carved posts*, that are set up for that purpose; each dancer having his rattle in his hand, or his bow and arrows, or his tomahawk. They also dress themselves up, for this purpose, *with branches of trees*. And thus they proceed, dancing and singing, with all the antick postures they can invent.

So, concerning the customs of the Indians of Canada, and the Missisipi, La Houtan informs us, that on their reception of ambassadors, or foreigners, who come with the *Calumet*, or *Pipe of Peace*; some young people advance forwards, and range themselves in an *oval form*: and as the foreigners advance forwards, they all dance together, and make another *oval*, round the officer who bears the *Calumet*. And this dance continues about half an hour: after which they conduct the foreigners to the banquet.†

So a strange ceremony of the Caribbee Indians is described;‡ when their Priests pretend to inspire them with courage. Which ceremony consists, in their singing and dancing *in a Circle*, with great agitation; after which, three or four of their Priests rush into the circle, and with a gourd bottle tied at the end of a stick, or with a long reed filled with tobacco, blow upon them.

* History of Virginia, p. 191.
monies, Vol. III. p. 91.

† See an Account of this in the Religious Ceremonies, Vol. III. p. 91.
‡ Ibid. p. 162.

In other more civilized countries also, the strange Circular dances, and Turnings round of the *Dervises*,* still retained as a sort of religious ceremony in the East, seems to have been derived from most antient superstitious rites, in those countries, in use long before the time of Mahomet; as well as the reverence for the Caaba at Mecca; which we know was an object of superstitious regard, numerous ages before Mahomet was born.

And whilst we read of the badges, which the Indian Priests, and Dancers hold in their hands, together with branches of trees, on performing these ceremonies in America; it is almost impossible not to call to mind the Druidical misletoe, and oak branches, used by the Britons, on all solemn occasions, as well as their stone Circles.

On the whole; perhaps we shall not err from the truth, if we conclude those Circles, *where the stones are placed uniformly at equal distances, and are of no great magnificence in point of bulk; though too high to sit upon; to have been designed for these sort of Celebrations: whilst those, where the stones are carefully placed at unequal intervals, with two opposite ones placed nearly in a meridian line; and those other circles which have Pillars, obviously placed with great care towards the east and west; were designed for the more important purposes of Astronomical Observations: and that those which have an high stone in the centre of many smaller ones, were for Public Assemblies, and Councils: and those, where all the stones are rather low; for Courts of Judicature.*

A fine Circle, consisting of thirty-eight stones, near Clenenney, in North Wales, not far from Penmorva, which is only just mentioned by Mr. Pennant; † deserves to be well examined.

And so also does a Druidical Circle of stones in the shire of Angus, in Scotland, near the celebrated camp of Readykes, ‡ on Garnie Hill; in the neighbourhood of which distinguished spot, it seems evident from a variety of circumstances most fully considered by the Earl of Buchan, the war with the Romans was put an end to, by the

* Thevenot, book i. chap. 40. Ricault, book ii. chap. 13. Tournefort, in his Letter xiv. Religious Ceremonies, Vol. VII. p. 109. See also Motraye's Travels, Vol. I. p. 236.

† Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 189.

‡ See a slight plan of the Circle, with that of the Camp, from Lieut. Gen. Melvill's Drawings, in Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 409.

signal victory obtained by Agricola over Galgacus, and the Caledonian army.

And as to *Inauguration Circles*, and those for *Legal Solemnities*; one has been already just mentioned, as still preserved by its remote situation in one of the Hebrides, call *Lewes Island*, or *Long Island*.

We find there, at *Classerness*,* first, thirty-nine stones, 6 or 7 feet high, and about 2 feet each in breadth, placed in the form of an avenue, the breadth of which is 8 feet, and the distance between each stone 6. There is a single stone set up at the entrance of this avenue; and at the other extreme part, which is the south end, stands a Circle of twelve stones, of equal distance, and height, with the former thirty-nine. In the centre of this circle is one great stone 13 feet high, of an odd irregular form, like the rudder of a ship; concerning which the tradition of the country still is that, in the times of *Heathenism*, the Chief Druid, or Priest, stood near this stone, from whence he spoke to the surrounding people. On the outside of this circle, there are four stones standing towards the west; of the same proportions, and at the same distances; and, in like manner four to the east; and four towards the south.

And about a quarter of a mile's distance from these, there is another circle of high stones.

There are also some circles of stones, both such as are small, and such as are of large dimensions, in the island of *Tire-iy*.†

And as in the instance of *single stones* of memorial, we have compared those in England, and Scotland, with certain remains in Ireland; so here it ought not to be omitted, that on a Rath, or artificial hill, in the county of Roscommon, in Ireland, there is a Circle of ten stones; which from representations that have been given of it,‡ seems to have been of the kind designed merely for superstitious dancings, and turnings.

About half a mile west of Winterborn Abbey in Dorsetshire, also, are the remains of a Druid Circle of stones; which from the smallness of its dimensions, and the nearly equal distances originally of

* Martin's description of the Western Islands, p. 9.

+ Ibid. p. 270.

‡ See one in Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 596; and Pl. XLIII. fig. 10. p. 529.

all the stones; and from their inconsiderable magnitude,* appears plainly to have been in like manner a circle merely for superstitious dances, and turnings. There are at present nine stones, placed in a form more elliptical than circular, for one diameter is 27 feet, and the transverse diameter 25½: their distance from each other is somewhat unequal, but generally about six feet. And as there is a vacant unmeaning space on the north-east, it seems as if three more stones, in that part, had completed the whole number, at very nearly equal distances. One of them is seven feet high, and another six; the rest not above three. It is remarkable, however, that two of these stones stand nearly east and west. And their very high antiquity, and superstitious designation, seems to be confirmed, by the near adjoining situation of a vast number of barrows.

There are some other *great* Circles of stones well known,† whose peculiar forms might tend to illustrate all that has been just said; but which have moreover certain appendages to them, that cannot well be understood, without the consideration of some curious circumstances that will be more fully considered in subsequent observations: it will be proper, therefore, to defer the enumeration of them, till all those additional peculiarities have been a little explained. And it is only proper to add here, that whatever the designation of all such various kinds of Circles of columnar stones was, there is one circumstance which with us, in this country, is an unquestionable proof of their great and high antiquity; and that is; that, in some places, the antient *Roman ways* are found to cross through, and to mangle some of these Circles,‡ in various directions: which could never have been the case, unless the erection of such Circles had been so long prior to the existence of such roads, that all the reverence for them was

* See an account of their measures, and forms, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1768, p. 112.

† Boskednan Circle in Gullval, in the Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 198, Pl. XV. fig. 2. And those called, The Hurlers, in the parish of St. Clare in Cornwall, p. 199, Pl. XVII. fig. 6.

And the curious cluster of Circles at Botallek, in Cornwall, p. 199, Pl. XVI.

And the very remarkable Circle of six stones in Denmark, which is described by Wormius; and represented by Borlase, p. 210, 188, do also deserve much notice.

‡ See Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 197.

lost, even when those roads themselves were first constructed by the Romans.

Another confirmation of their high antiquity, and solemn use also, is, that their name in the Erse, is *clachan*; and that to this day, the phrase for going to church amongst the Highlanders is, to go to *clachan*.* Whilst the church of Benachie is included in one of these very circles; as are others in Scotland; which seems to have been the effect of choice, not chance: the founders designing to induce the Pagan inhabitants the more readily to attend on the doctrines of Christianity; by building churches, on the very spots, where they were wont to celebrate their antient and most solemn rites.

Thus near to the village of *Oldeer*, not far from *Inverugee*, where an abbey was founded in 1218, a Druidical Circle of stones is found, still existing pretty entire, on an adjacent hill; having three of the stones remaining in the midst, which had composed a cromlech, or altar, of an enormous size.† And near this are still to be discerned vestiges of cells, or huts, which the neighbouring people call *Picts' houses*; and which probably were the residence of attendant Druids.

* Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 34. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, 1769, p. 232.

† Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING SACRED CIRCLES, WITH ALTARS OF OBLATION.

HAVING, from so many concurring facts, derived a certain degree of information, with regard to the original use of those various Circles of *Druidical stones* (as they are called) which were designed for mere civil purposes; it is now time to proceed to the investigation, still more particularly, of those more magnificent Remains, which there can be no doubt were originally parts of structures destined to superstitious, and what were deemed most sacred rites, and ceremonies.

As of this destination there can exist no doubt; it being a fact allowed on all hands; it would be both unnecessary, and unwarrantable, here to repeat, what has been so judiciously, and ingeniously, and in most respects so satisfactorily, observed, and written, concerning these wondrous piles, by Rowland, Stukeley, Borlase, and Wood. I shall therefore confine myself chiefly to such *new* and additional observations, as may tend, without invalidating the material substance of their conclusions, to afford still further light.

The most perfect and stupendous structure of this kind yet remaining, may however, I trust, justly be referred to, in order to explain in a more precise manner, the whole of them.

Stonehenge, in Wiltshire, will therefore be instantly present to every one's mind on this occasion.

It has been so often drawn, and represented in engravings in one entire group (in which it always does, and must ever appear an heap of confusion), that both to avoid copying, and repetition; and in order to elucidate the explanation of it still more fully; I shall venture to take quite another method.

And therefore, referring those who wish to see views of the whole together, to the many engravings already published (most of which, though differing so much one from another, in consequence of their being taken from different stationary points, have yet a degree of

authority, and faithfulness, that does not deserve the censures bestowed on some of them); referring for more general representation of the *whole* to such prior engravings; I shall beg leave to confine my description, in the first place, to a mere plan of the aggregate ruin, as it was in Mr. Wood's time. Then, to two views of the most important and detached distinct parts; after that to a plan of the whole, represented as it appears clearly to have been originally; and lastly, to one or two views of the great *Trilithons*, as they once stood; and of that which has fallen, in its fallen state.

Pl. VI. fig. 1. represents a plan of all the stones of the body of this majestic structure, that remained on the spot in 1740; both those which were fallen down, and those which were still standing in their original position.

This plan is copied from Mr. Wood's actual Survey; and, being most accurate, requires nothing to be added to it, or substituted in its room, in this respect; notwithstanding I may venture to differ from him, in some particular conclusions.

I chanced, the first time I visited this structure, to approach it by moonlight; being later on my journey in the evening, than I intended. This, however, was a circumstance; advantageous to the appearance: insomuch, that although my mind was previously filled with determined aversion, and a degree of horror, on reflecting upon the abominations of which this spot must have been the scene; and to which it even gave occasion, in the later periods of Druidism; yet it was impossible not to be struck, in the still of the evening, whilst the moon's pale light illumined all, with reverential awe, at the solemn appearance produced by the different shades of this immense group of astonishing masses of rock; artificially placed, impending over head with threatening aspect; bewildering the mind with the almost inextricable confusion of their relative situations with respect to each other; and, from their rudeness, as well as from their prodigious bulk, conveying at one glance, all the ideas of stupendous greatness, that could well be assembled together: whilst, at the same time, the vast expanse of landscape from this summit of an hill, added an idea of boundless magnificence, similar to that produced by a view of the wide extended ocean.

Surely, there can hardly be a more painful reflection ; or one that more tends to cause an honest mind to shudder with indignation ;— than that by the perverseness and blindness of the human heart, such grand associations of ideas should ever have been perverted to impious, and to idolatrous purposes ; instead of being directed to the worship and honour of HIM, who created the whole expanse from hence surveyed ; both above, and beneath ; who made sun, moon, and stars ; heavens, and heavens of heavens ; worlds of inconceivable glory.

It is an happy circumstance, that we do not, at this distance of time, with precision, understand *what* the abominations here practised, in the latter most corrupted ages of Druidism were ; though the first original designation, in conformity with Patriarchal usages, is manifest enough.

It is not to be lamented that we are so far ignorant ; and it would be serving but an ill purpose, to endeavour to bring them to light again ; or to strive to catch ideas of them, by the wild guidance of conjecture ; as has sometimes been endeavoured.

I shall beg leave, therefore, here to draw the veil : and in these observations only to elucidate as much as appears most positively clear, from the most antient records ; and as is indeed, in a degree, free from any necessary concern with those gross abominations.

To do even this, however, I must first endeavour to make the whole of the fabric plainly intelligible.

Those stones, in the plan referred to, Pl. VI. fig. 1. the proportions and dimensions of whose bases are represented *black* ; are such as are still standing upright, except only the one in the middle marked (γ).

And amongst these ; the stones in that part of the outward circle, that is on each side the letter (a), are the very stones, some whereof are shewn, as they appear on approaching them, in Pl. VII. fig. 1. having the great imposts still remaining upon them.

They are, in general (as far as such rude masses can be reduced to any scale) between 6 and 7 feet broad ; between 3 and 4 thick ;* and about 14 in height ; and, when they were all entire,

* See a confirmation of the truth of these rough measures, and computations, in Wood's exact Survey of Stonehenge, p. 63.

plainly formed (as appears from the uniform proportions of what remain), a great circular inclosure; of about 97 feet in diameter: consisting of 30 upright rude stone pillars; and of 30 imposts, each of which was about 10 feet long, or a little more; and about 3 feet thick. The intervals or intercolumniations between these stones was only about 3, or sometimes near 4 feet; but amongst these, the interval at (a) was rather wider than the rest; and formed a sort of principal entrance to this august structure. The whole construction manifestly shewing, how even very small dimensions, provided there be but a sufficiently obvious scale for measuring the greatly different proportions of the several parts, may convey effectual ideas of magnificence, even detached from any consideration of the additional circumstance of grandeur, that is conveyed by the vast bulk of each single stone.

The stones in the plan, which are marked with dots, shew such as have long been thrown down, but yet still remain near their original places. Whilst, by the blank intervals, it plainly appears, that some others have been carried away.

There remain 17 upright pillars of this outward circle standing; and 7 now lying on the ground, either whole, or in pieces; there remain also 6 of the imposts in their places. But all the rest are carried off and lost.

They have all plainly in a degree been wrought with a tool: for, in order to join the upright pillars to the imposts more effectually, there is formed, on the top of each pillar, a sort of tenon, of the form of half an egg; and about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; which was made to fit into a corresponding mortise in the impost. And the rude pillars themselves, on examination, have been found to be placed at bottom, in a kind of socket, dug in the chalky soil; and having small flints carefully rammed in, between the stone and the sides of the socket.

About 9 feet nearer towards the centre; that is, 9 feet from the inside of this exterior Circle, appear the remains of a second and interior Circle, of smaller stones; which are of about one half of the dimensions of those of the outward circle. And, (from the proportion of the distances of those that remain, as well as from their

situation,) they appear to have been originally twenty-nine* in number.

Only nine of these are now left standing in their proper places: and whether they ever had, or had not, imposts on them, is not at present to be determined. But it is remarkable, that whereas the stones of the outward Circle are of a lightish colour, being by some Observers deemed to be of the same kind as the *Grey-Weathers* on Salisbury Plain; these, of the inner Circle, are of darker hue, almost inclining to black: which variety and contrast, must have added much to the beauty of the original work.

After passing the remains of these two great outward Circles; between which the circular walk seems to have been nearly 300 feet in circumference, and to have afforded an awful view of the interior structure; we come to the most striking part of the whole: which is, at the distance of about 13 feet more inwards; consisting of a large portion of an oval, about 52 feet in its shortest diameter, and a few feet more in its longest; a part of whose circumference was formed originally by at least *five*, (or as appeared to me, and as I much suspect, by *seven*) massy combinations of huge fragments of rock, in the form of exceeding high altars; placed one at the end, and the rest on each side of the longest diameter, fronting the principal entrance (a).

These Dr. Stukeley calls *Trilothons*; because they were composed of three great stones each: and stand each quite apart; and not joined to, or appearing to have any annexation to each other, like the pillars and stones in the outward circle.

Three of these remain entire; and are marked in the Plan (1, 2, 3); but the rest are thrown down, and demolished; except that there is one of the supports of the fifth Trilothon left standing at (5). And except also, that of the Trilothon marked (4), (which was the highest and largest of all); *one* of its pillars also remains partly standing; although leaning forwards, in a sloping position; being so supported, by a smaller stone pillar of the interior oval, just before it.

This vast, rude remain of the highest Trilothon, is about 22 feet in length to its top; whereon still exists the great tenon, that fastened

* See this ascertained by Mr. Wood, p. 64.

it to the impost above. Its fellow supporter is thrown down; and lies, just by, in two great pieces; whilst the impost itself has fallen quite across the long black stone marked (*y*); which was placed a little before the foot of this high altar; and in this position it for some years remained, so nicely balanced, as to form a sort of rocking stone.

All these great Trilothons, may be plainly observed to have been so constructed, that those on each side the oval, were made respectively to increase in height, the further they were from the entrance at (*a*): whilst this (whose leaning pillar is left,) which fronted the entrance, was highest of all.

The first pair, that at present have any existing traces of their original form left; namely those marked (1 and 5), being about 16½ feet in height.

The next, marked (2 and 3); being about 17½ feet in height.

And the middle one, marked (4), being, as before mentioned 22 feet high.

In the front of this last; at the distance of about 12 feet; was placed, on the very ground, and partly sunk into it, a great black stone (*y*): about 16 feet in length, and 4 feet wide, and about 20 inches thick: which seems to have marks of burning upon it still remaining; and is of a quite different, and harder kind of stone, than the rest; as being designed to resist the effects of fire.

The leaning pillar of the great and highest Trilothon; and the two Trilothons, on each side, remaining entire, when I visited the spot; are represented by themselves, in Plate VII. fig. 2.* for a

* The drawing was made in the year 1787: and long since these sheets were written, there has fallen, in the year 1797, one of these so curious *Trilothons*. It is the most western one, or that, which was (of the five), the second, on the right hand, as you advance towards the upper end.

An account of its fall was given to the Society of Antiquaries, in a letter from M. G. Maton, Esq.

The sound of the fall was so great, as to frighten the horse of a cart, then going on the road at a distance. And I have lately been informed, by the present Lord Bishop of Durham (as the only probable account for its falling), that a little time before his Lordship was first advanced to the See of Salisbury, the then Dutchess of Queensbury wished to have this Trilothon removed, and had caused labourers to dig deep, at its foundations, for that purpose. But that finding their labour ineffectual, they had desisted; and had filled up

clearer explanation of this description. And are shewn as detached, and free from all the other stones; which are in this drawing purposely left out, to avoid confusion.

And whilst the vastness of their bulk is so obvious; it cannot but appear most remarkable; what a very small interval there is between the two great supporters of each Trilothon. It is not more than 21, or 22 inches: though the width of each stone supporter, is at least about 7 feet; or $7\frac{1}{2}$.

This narrow interval therefore seems plainly to indicate, that the void space, between the two stones, could neither have been designed for a seat; as some have supposed:—or for any entrance;—or for passing through, for any superstitious purposes; (as others have imagined.)—But that plainly, each structure of these *five* was intended indeed solely for *an high raised basis*;—an altar of oblation;—a sort of *Table for offerings*;—according to what we read of antient Ceremonies concerning *Offerings*; and are informed is still in use, amongst barbarous, and Gentile nations.

Nor is it any objection to this idea, that these Tables, or Altars of Oblation, and Offering, were so very high, that they could not be ascended except by ladders: for we find that they are of such kind of height still, amongst such barbarous and idolatrous people,

the excavation. Perhaps the loose earth, thus slightly thrown back, might afford an opportunity to successive wet, and frosts, to do that which the labourers could not do; and, by the swelling and expansion of the solid earth, on the other side, to force the uprights from their perpendicular position; and so at last to fling them down.

On this fall there was discovered a still further proof of the very rude construction of this stupendous pile; though so much advance towards art had been made, as in concurrence with abominable superstitions, to break in upon antient primæval institutions. For it was not only, like the other Trilothons that had previously been thrown down, found to have mortesses and tenons, to join the uprights to the impost: but the mortesses were here quite unequal: the one 13 feet deep, and the other only 9 feet deep.

The uprights appeared to have been decayed a little by time, and weather; and were somewhat smaller beneath than at the upper parts. They were about 22 feet high. Besides which they had been buried from 4 to 6 feet in the ground; the depths of the two, however, were not exactly alike: insomuch that, the foundations seemed to have been cautiously so prepared, as to make both even when they were set up.

This Trilothon appears in Pl. VII. fig. 2. just as it was standing in the year 1787, when I visited the spot. It is that near which is seen the figure of a man, designed as a scale to measure its apparent height.

as do yet retain, in consequence of their having been so long separated from the rest of the world, the most primitive usages]

And indeed that altars were ascended by ladders, in the most ancient times of the world, even before the giving of the Law of Moses, we may be assured, from the caution, and express command given, in the Divine Law, in contradistinction to all former idolatrous, and Gentile usages.

Thou shalt not (says the Holy Law of God) *go up by steps, unto mine ALTAR.*

And it deserves to be remarked, that in this passage the original words *ἐν ἀνακαλίπτειν*, used in the Septuagint, exactly convey the very idea of the steps of a ladder.

Amongst remote, and barbarous people, who have been cut off, for many ages, from all correspondence with the rest of the world, we find preserved almost uninterruptedly (though mixed perhaps with additional horrible idolatrous corruptions), the practices, in point of form, of those Patriarchs, in the first ages of the world: who had so soon and so grossly departed from the worship of the most Pure, and Perfect, and Holy God, The Creator of all, as to have given occasion to the calling of Abram to depart from amongst them.

And as to such usages, and practices, we have many curious, and indeed dreadful elucidations, in the late voyages to the South Sea; and that from persons who were even eye witnesses to them:—but who, a serious mind must think, ought to have used more caution in attending such horrible observances: and ought to have related them with more serious animadversions, and observations, than have been made, either by themselves, or by those who have communicated them to us. For most undoubtedly nothing can be so dreadful, and pernicious, as the remotest, even silent assent to, or connivance at, any part of idolatry.

If some investigation of its horrid history be unavoidably necessary for the full elucidation of the truth contained in Holy Scripture; and for the better illustration of the history of the dispensations of the Divine Providence; yet surely, at least, an avowed abhor-

* Exodus, chap. xx. ver. 26.

† Of this opinion plainly was H. Stephens. See Vol. I. p. 640. For *Ἀνακαλίς* is even the diminutive of *Ἀνακαλίς*.

rence of every thing relating thereunto, and an heartfelt manifestation of a deep sense of the abomination thereof, is the duty of every servant of God; and especially of every Christian, who is at any time led either to investigate, or to explain, such matters as relate to the times of Gentile darkness.

The elucidations I refer to, are to be met with in Captain Cook's voyages.

Amongst other parts of the description of a most horrible ceremony, when Captain Cook was present at an human sacrifice, of a man that had been killed, to implore assistance against Eimeo, a neighbouring chieftain; which ceremony was performed at the great Morai at Atahooroo, and attended by Otoo, King of Otaheite; we are told;* that after the corpse of the man, who had been sacrificed, was interred, a dog they had brought with them was killed, by twisting his neck, and suffocating him. The hair was singed off, and the entrails taken out, and thrown into the fire, where they were left to consume. The heart, liver, and kidneys, were roasted, by being laid on hot coals; and the body of the dog, after being besmeared with the blood, which had been collected into a coconut shell, and dried over the fire, was, with the liver, &c. carried and laid down before the priests, who sat praying round the grave. They continued ejaculations over the dog for some time; while two men, at intervals, beat on two drums very loud. As soon as the priests had ended their prayers, the carcass of the dog, with what belonged to it, were laid on a *Whatta*, or scaffold, about six feet high, that stood close by, on which lay the remains of two other dogs, and of two pigs, which had been lately sacrificed; and which, at this time, emitted an intolerable stench.

When the dog was put upon the *Whatta*, the priests and attendants gave a kind of shout, which closed the ceremonies for the present. The day being closed.

The next day, however, a pig was killed with many superstitious forms; and after its entrails were burnt, the body and its liver

* Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Vol. II. p. 30, 35, 36, and 42; 203.

+ P. 38. See also, as to the use of these *Whattas* (or *Ewattas*, as they are sometimes called), Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 163, 256, 257.

also, &c. were put upon the same *Whatta*, or scaffold, where the dog had been deposited.

Here we find the carcass of the dog *lifted up*,—or *placed on high*,—on an altar,—on occasion of an horrid dæmoniacal sacrifice: and that of the pig placed in the same manner. Only in this instance, as in almost all other Indian usages, we find *wood* substituted instead of *stone*.

Again, we have the account of a *Morai*, or place of Sacrifice, in the very spot, where poor Captain Cook was himself either lifted up, and worshipped; or (as the event too sadly proved) desecrated, in the Sandwich Islands. I will give the sad account in the words of the Editor of his Voyage.*

“ Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal Island, it will be necessary to describe the *Morai*, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa. It was a square solid pile of stones; about 40 yards long, 20 broad, and 14 in height. The top was flat, and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives, *sacrificed on the death of their chiefs*. In the centre of the area, stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail, on each side, by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country, were *five poles*, UPWARDS OF 20 FEET HIGH, *supporting an irregular kind of scaffold*; on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses, with a covered communication.

“ We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance, we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, *who presented Captain Cook to the images, and after chanting a kind of hymn*,

* The present *Lord Bishop* of Salisbury, Dr. Douglas. See Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Vol. III. p. 6.

+ Horror!—Horror!—Horror!—can an Englishman, and Christian, read this without the utmost indignation?

" in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the
 " *Morai*, where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were
 " twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the
 " middle figure stood AN HIGH STAND OR TABLE, *exactly resembling*
 " *the WHATTA of Otaheite*; on which lay a putrid hog, and under it
 " pieces of sugar cane, cocoa nuts, bread fruit, plantains, and sweet
 " potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under this stand, took
 " down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a second
 " time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much
 " vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led
 " him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not
 " without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in
 " solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the *Morai*, ten men
 " carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being ad-
 " vanced a few paces, they stopped, and *prostrated themselves*; and
 " Kaireekaea, the young man above mentioned, went to them, and
 " receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the
 " Captain, and afterward *offered him the hog*, which was brought by
 " Kaireekaea, with the same ceremony.

" Whilst Captain Cook was aloft, in this awkward situation,
 " swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his
 " hold amongst pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekaea and Koah
 " began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes
 " alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let
 " the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together."

I have added the whole of this sad detail, for the sake of shew-
 ing the nature of these horrible Indian Altars of Oblation; which
 plainly consisted both of the *Whatta*,* on which the putrefied
 flesh lay; and also of the scaffold, on which poor Captain Cook

* As there is no *Whatta*, or *high Altar*, in the instance I am going to refer to, it was not
 quite proper to add the mention of it, with those remarkable and horrid Ceremonies just allud-
 ed to; but it is not beside our purpose, by way of illustration, to mention, that Purchase in-
 forms us, the old Florida Indians did, as idolaters, annually make an oblation to the Sun,
 with great solemnity, of the representation of a stag. For which purpose they chose the
 skin of the largest stag they could meet with. This they first stuffed with all kind of
 herbs, then adorned it with fruits and flowers, and *lifted it up*, to the top of an high tree,
 with its head turned towards the rising sun. And this ceremony was performed every year
 about the end of February. See Picart's Religious Ceremonies, Vol. III. p. 118.

seems in reality to have been himself made a sort of offering; or else to have been treated in a manner that conveys a still more dreadful idea.

I cannot but feel many fearful reflections in my mind, on reciting such a tale: and cannot but wish it to be a warning to all future Navigators; to prevent their compliance with idolatrous rites. For the sake of which *warning* chiefly, I am induced to recite the whole thus at large.

Several other instances of *Whattas*, or raised stages; or rather of rude Altars, with Oblations, and Offerings; might be added from the accounts given in Captain Cook's different Voyages: but these are sufficient.

It is, however, even a sort of duty, just to point out, as well as to lament one or two other fatal mistakes, which our valuable, and excellent Navigator fell into amongst these people; that others may be upon their guard against so sad a snare.

Can any thing be more horrid to the apprehensions of a sincere Worshipper of the One only true God; than that poor Captain Cook should, by the circumstances in which he was placed, have been induced to *stand by*, and in that manner, as it were, to give countenance to that poor wretched being Omai, (who was then just carried back, after a long abode in this country), whilst he made an open idolatrous offering of red feathers, and of cloth,* to his false gods, on the island of Huaheine: and whilst Omai caused their abominable Priests, at the same time, to pray in the presence of all the people, English, and Indians, to those false gods, for Lord Sandwich, and for the Captains Cook, and Clerke.

Or is it possible to read, without trembling apprehensions of Divine displeasure; that, some time after, some sacrifices to their false gods, with their usual ceremonies, and with their hymns, and prayers, were performed on the burial of an English seaman?†

Again, how painful is it to be informed,‡ that when that poor ingenious being *Tupia*, with his boy *Tayeto*, in the midst of their

* The account of this Ceremony, with all its horrible circumstances, may be seen at large in Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Vol. II. p. 93, 94.

† See the whole account in Cook's last Voyage, Vol. III. p. 25.

‡ Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 307.

darkness, and error, offered, on board the ship, a fish to their supposed Eatua, or god, in gratitude for Tayeto's escape from the Indians who had seized him; that not one soul on board the ship took that fair opportunity of instructing them better. And that on the contrary, on another occasion, our mariners appear even to have remained present,* and almost as assenting to Tupia's idolatrous offerings, and ceremonies.

Let every future Navigator guard against such horrible and fatal compliances, as he values the life and safety of himself, and of those who are with him.

Having mentioned these extraordinary facts, in order to elucidate, by a comparison with primæval usages preserved in other parts of the earth, the nature of our aboriginal remains in this country; and to shew that the great *height* of these Trilothons, or *high Altars*, at *Stone Henge*, is in reality rather a proof, and indication of their original designation, as Altars of Oblation; than an objection to their having been originally intended for such superstitious purpose; it remains only, in the next place, to be observed, with regard to the interior part of this structure at Stone Henge; that, in the inside of this almost semicircular range of Trilothons, or high bases of Altars; (which are of the same whitish stone, with the outward circular portico); there was again (as in the outward circle), a lesser corresponding range of upright stones; smaller, darker coloured, and even black; somewhat of a pyramidical form; nineteen in number: being each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth; $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick; and near 8 feet in height; only increasing in height, as they approach the upper end, near to the black stone Altar for burning, which lays on the ground.

For the sake of rendering the Great Trilothons more firm, and their form more beautiful, the upright supporters in general may be observed to have been made originally to diminish somewhat in breadth, and thickness, from the base to the top; whilst the imposts were made nearly of the same length as was occupied by the whole base: that is, about 17 feet.

On the summit of one of these, marked (2) in the plan, Lord Winchelsea, and Dr. Stukeley, walked backwards and forwards for a considerable space of time, some years ago; neither of them

* Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 251.

being willing to yield, in point of courage, to the other. (An odd instance of English oddity).

With regard to the outside of this extraordinary pile, it is to be remarked still further; that at the distance of about a diameter of the structure from its circumference, that is, at the distance of about 100 feet, or a little more, from the outward circular range of stones, is a double bank, inclosing a circular ditch, about 30 feet in breadth; which surrounded the whole in every part, except opposite to the entrance (*a*), on the north-east side. And was so constructed, that the inward bank formed a kind of broad surrounding terrace.

Just where the passage through this terrace was, on the first approach; *there* appears, lying on the ground, on the part corresponding to the inner bank of the ditch, an exceeding large stone, about 20 feet in length, and between 6 and 7 in breadth; which seems manifestly to have been designed for the slaying, and preparing, the victims.

It is marked (*b*), in the second plan; which comprehends the whole of this sacred Circle, as it seems to have been originally formed, with all its outworks. See Pl. VI. fig. 2.

Again; further off; and directly before the principal entrance; is still remaining another large stone, or Pillar of Memorial, about 17 feet high, standing erect. Which is marked (*c*) in the plan.

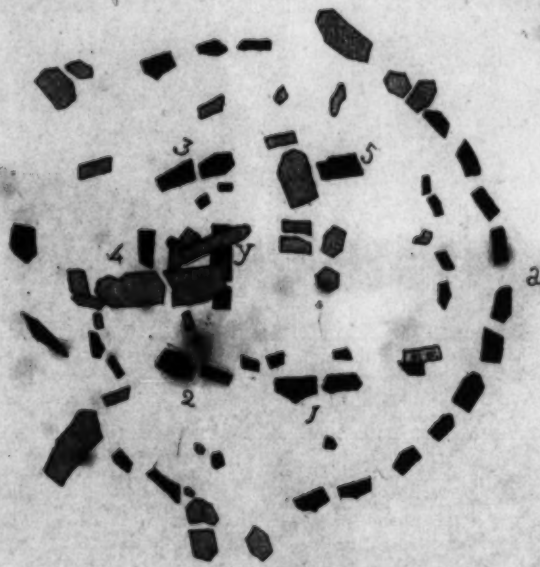
This great stone, is about 100 feet, or a little more, from the slaughtering stone, (*b*).

And that such Pillars of Memorial, were usual appendages to these kind of altars, in the earliest ages; and amongst barbarous and idolatrous nations; and were considered as being closely connected with their superstitious rites; appears most plainly, even from the words of the command in the Divine Law to the Israelites; concerning the destruction of all such kind of remains of abomination.

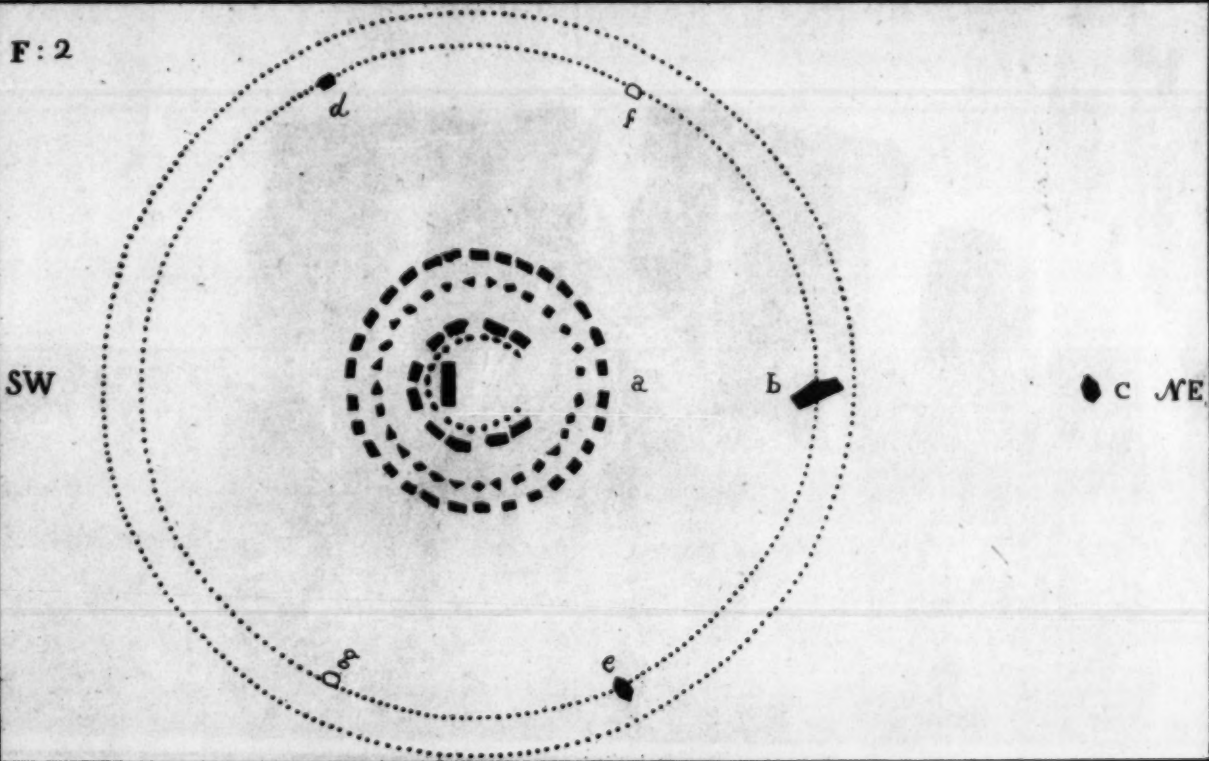
"Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and UPON THE HILLS, and under every green tree. And you shall overthrow THEIR ALTARS, and break THEIR PILLARS, and burn their groves with fire, and you shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place."*

* Deuteronomy, chap. xii. ver. 2, 3.

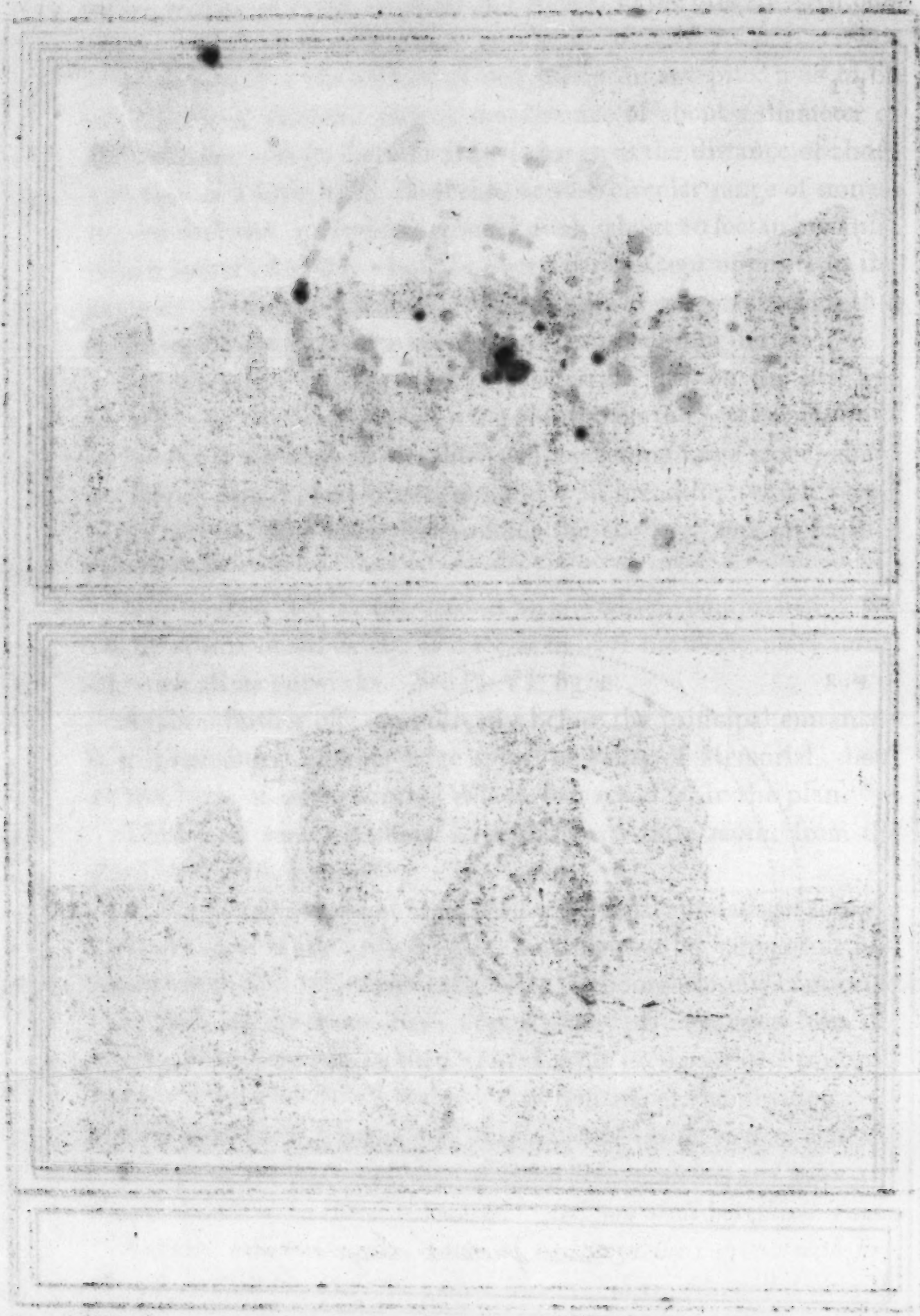
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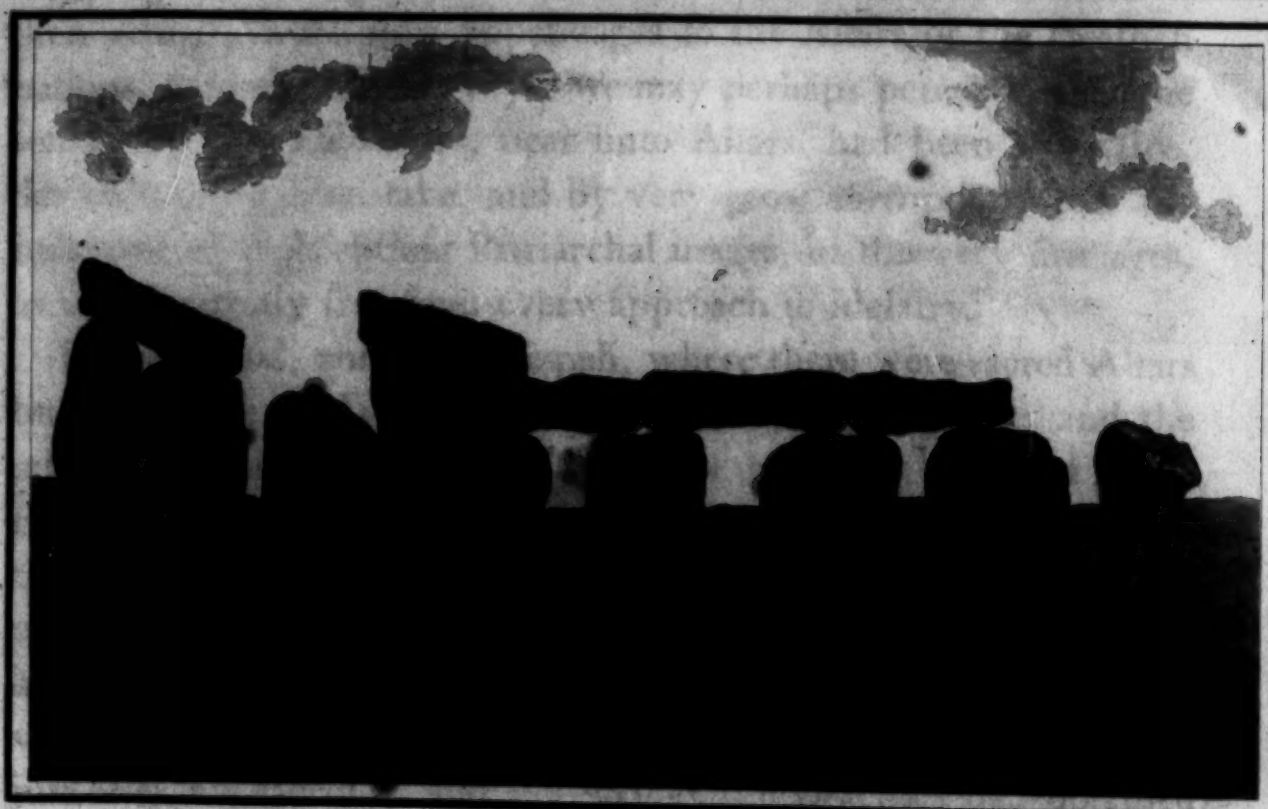


Plans of Stone henge.



F.1.

Pl.VII.



F.2.



Particular Views of Stone-henge.

E. P. del.

J. Caldwell sculp.



But though it appears, from these words of the Law, that there then actually were such appendages to the Altars of the Heathen nations, used abominably; yet we may perhaps perceive, that the setting up of such Pillars, near unto Altars, had been a practice, derived, through mistake, and by very gross corruption, from the imitation of such antient Patriarchal usages, in the very first ages, as were perfectly free from every approach to idolatry.

For at Bethel, and near Mizpeh, where there were sacred Altars built, the one by Jacob,* when he fled from Shechem; and the other, as we may conceive, by Samuel,† (since we read that he offered up, in that place, an whole lamb for a burnt-offering), we find that there was, moreover, at each place, a *Pillar* also of Memorial set up, at no great distance from the Altars.‡ That at Bethel, having been set up (as has been before observed), by Jacob, as he was travelling on his journey to Laban: and that at Mizpeh, by Samuel, just after his sacrifice, and the victory the Israelites had obtained over the Philistines.

And at Gilgal, where there were sacrifices offered in the time of Saul, and Samuel;§ it is well known there were standing near adjoining, *the twelve stones*, that had been placed as a *Memorial* of the passage of the Israelites over Jordan. ||

It is not at all to be wondered at, therefore, that in subsequent ages, there should be a perverted imitation.

Those holy men set up their Pillars of Memorial, in places, where Almighty God had *actually revealed Himself to them*, by express visions; or manifest tokens of favour: but the Gentiles, without any such authority, set them up, on every high place; from the mere dictates of fancy and superstition.

And it is very curious to find, that in sequestered parts of modern countries, where the remoteness from intercourse with those who are improving in modern usages, and by means of increasing light, prevents a change of antient habits, and customs; the *imitative* regard for such a Stone of Memorial, or of introduction to a sacred spot, is still preserved.

* Genesis, chap. xxxv. ver. 7. 14. + 1 Samuel, chap. vii. ver. 9. † Genesis, chap. xxviii. ver. 11 to 19. 1 Samuel, chap. vii. ver. 12. § 1 Samuel, chap. xiii. ver. 9. chap. xv. ver. 12. 31. || Joshua, chap. iv. ver. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

Thus we are told,* that in the Western Isles, on the coast of Scotland, in the Isle of Gigay, near the west side of the modern church, there is a Stone placed, about 16 feet high, and 4 broad. This stands upon an eminence. And about sixty yards distance from the chapel, there is a square Stone erected; about 10 feet high; at which the antient Inhabitants usually bowed; because it was there, where they had the first view of the church.

And as to still more remote, and sequestered people, we learn from Beverley,† that the Indians in Virginia often set up, as a sort of hieroglyphics of the Permanency of the Deity, Stones, and Pillars, which by that means became sad objects of idolatry. And that moreover, they were accustomed to erect Altars, wherever they had occasion to record any remarkable event, their principal devotion consisting in sacrifice. And that they have a profound respect for these Altars; and, when they travel by any of them, take great care to instruct their children, and young people, as to the particular occasion, and time of their erection; and recommend the respect which they think they ought to have for them. Thus connecting these Altars, and Pillars, with Memorials relating to their history, and making them serve in the room of written history.

To return to the more immediate consideration of Stone Henge. Besides the detached Stone forming the Altar for slaughter; and the Stone of Memorial, which has occasioned this digression; there stand, on the inward bank, two other lesser Stones, (d) and (e); and there are also, directly opposite to each other, and placed very nearly north, and south, the appearances of two basons, or hollowed excavations, about 16 feet in diameter, at (f) and (g), placed on the same bank; or rather hollowed out of it. Which cavities were certainly designed for some precise superstitious use; concerning which it is perhaps, not only difficult, but even not very desirable, to ascertain any thing with certainty.

But most probably they were designed to hold the blood of the victims; or at least as receptacles into which it was to be poured. And it is almost impossible not to bring to mind, on seeing them, the curious description given by Homer, of the rites performed

* Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 229.

† History of Virginia, p. 184, 185.

by Ulysses; undoubtedly in compliance with antient superstitious usages, and ideas, with which Homer was acquainted.

The substance of the whole description, extracted from Pope's translation, is this: when Ulysses had approached the place destined for his sacrifice, he says:

*I from the scabbard drew the shining sword;
And trenching the black earth on every side,
A cavern form'd, a cubit long and wide.
New wine, with honey temper'd milk, we bring,
Then living waters from the crystal spring;
O'er these was strow'd the consecrated flour,
And on the surface shone the holy store.*

Book xi. line 29.

*Then dy'd the sheep; a purple torrent flow'd;
And all the cavern smok'd with streaming blood.*

line 45.

*Straight I command the sacrifice to haste,
Straight the flead victims to the flames are cast,
And mutter'd vows, and mystic song apply'd.*

line 57.

Thus much for Pope's translation. But the original explains the matter better; for there, describing the excavation made by the sword of Ulysses; it is not spoken of, as describing a square cavern, a cubit long and wide; but

Βόθρον ὅρυζα, ὅσον τε πυγούσιον, ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.
I dug a pit, as much as a cubit every way.

That plainly is, a circular pit, a cubit in diameter. And mentioning the slaughter of the victims, it is not said, the cavern smoked with blood, but

*τὰ δὲ μῆλα λαζῶν ἀπεδειροτομήσα
Ἐς βόθρον, ῥεε δ' αἷμα κελλιανέφες.*

That is;—Seizing the sheep; I slew them
Over the pit, and the black blood flow'd.

The curious will excuse this digression ; and now, whoever views what is clearly intelligible of this antient structure at Stone Henge ;—the Stone of Memorial ;—the Slaughtering Stone ;—the great pits, or basons for receiving the blood ;—the Altar of hard Grey Marble, in the central part of the whole, for the fire ;—and the *high Altars of Oblation* :—is it possible for him, if he well considers what is related concerning those most remarkable sacrifices offered by Balak, and Balaam, not to discern a most obvious and striking resemblance between this High Place, and the High Places of Moab ?

From the appearance of the ruins, and from the void spaces left, I should judge (as I before mentioned), there were originally *seven* high Altars, or Trilothons, at Stone Henge, as well as in the High Places erected by Balak : and that the stones of two of them, nearest to the entrance, have been destroyed, and carried away ; as has certainly been the case with regard to some others of the great stones of the outward Circle.

But whether there were in this place five, or seven ; the resemblance is equally striking. And one cannot but be surprised, that it should never have been remarked before.

Nor is the resemblance destroyed ; although it should be supposed that the Stone Altars erected by Balak, in so short a space of time, were much less massy, and of inferior bulk to those at Stone Henge. For (besides the consideration of the circumstance, that Balak had his whole army, at command, on the occasion) ; we are not without an instance, as I shall hereafter shew, of a similar structure (or at least of one for similar purposes) of much less dimensions.

It is very likely, that succeeding ages did, as superstition increased, increase the majestic ponderosity of the stones composing these sort of high Altars. A circumstance that is no more to be wondered at, than that the vast piles of Norman cathedrals, should succeed to the small Saxon churches.

That these Altars of Stone Henge, were of the very *latest* ages of Druidism is manifest, from tools having been lifted up upon them, both to form their shape, and to carve the tenons, and mortesses. For the original Druidical Altars, like those of the Patriarchs, and those directed by the Law, we may be assured were to be without any tool. And indeed the lesser *high place*, which appears to have

been of a similar destination with that at Stonehenge, and which shall presently be referred to, was so. Nor shall we perhaps err, if we deem this caution to have been at first used, in order to be an indication, that the creatures of the Almighty God, *the Great Creator*, cannot, by any thing they can of themselves do, really add to, or increase the original perfection which He has designed, and will finally bring to pass, in His due time, by means and instruments best known to Himself, with regard to all His works.

*"If thou wilt make me an Altar of Stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it,"** are the words of Divine Law.

Whatever idea the Druids may have had, either in earlier ages, or in those when *Stonehenge* was reared; there can scarce remain a doubt, but that the observances used by Balak, and Balaam, in the High Places of Moab; and which had been derived from a corruption of Patriarchal observances, long prior; were also, from the same antient original, copied by other nations; and therefore, however much corrupted, somewhat copied here.

And as it pleased Almighty God, in vindication of His supreme Power, and in support of His original Divine promises to Abraham, to condescend on the occasion alluded to, to cause the Prophet Balaam, by his express command, to deliver, contrary to the expectations of the King of Moab, and contrary to Balaam's own wish, a most Solemn Prophecy, not only concerning the prosperity of Israel, but also concerning the final coming of the Messiah; it may, with a view to fling some little additional light upon that most important subject; as well as to illustrate the history of the remains we are considering, be well worth our while, to endeavour to apprehend more fully, the whole of that curious narration.

It is intelligible enough indeed, from the present elegant translation in our Bible: but it is much more so, from that given in the Septuagint; to which therefore I shall beg leave to have recourse.

It is *there* as follows:

Numbers, chap. 23.

1. *And Balaam said unto Balak, build me here seven HIGH ALTARS, and PREPARE ME HERE seven young bullocks, and seven rams.*

* Exodus, chap. xx. ver. 25.

2. *And Balak did as Balaam had spoken. And Balak, and Balaam PLACED UP ON HIGH, a bullock and a ram on every altar.*

3. *And Balaam said unto Balak, stand thou here by thy OFFERINGS, and I will go and see whether God will manifest Himself to me, to meet me: And whatsoever word He sheweth me, I will tell thee. And Balak stood BY HIS OFFERINGS, and Balaam went to inquire of God; and he went on STRAIGHT FORWARDS.*

4. *And God manifested himself unto Balaam. And Balaam said unto Him, I have prepared the seven HIGH ALTARS; and have lifted UP ON HIGH a bullock and a ram, on every altar.*

5. *And God put a word in the mouth of Balaam, and said, return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak.*

6. *And he returned unto him, and behold he stood by his WHOLE BURNT OFFERINGS, and all the Rulers of Moab with him.*

Now whoever well considers this account of Balaam's Patriarchal Offering, will discover several most remarkable particulars in it; illustrative of those remains of still more corrupted Imitations, which we find at Stone Henge.

For, in the first place, the word *βαυός*,* made use of, to describe

* A quite different word, is uniformly made use of in Scripture, for an Altar on which Sacrifices are burned. For in Genesis, chap. viii. ver. 20. where mention is made of Noah's building an Altar unto the Lord, the word is not, as here, *βαυός*; but *Θυσιαστήριον*. So again, when mention is made of Abram's building an Altar, chap. xii. ver. 7. and chap. xxii. ver. 9. So again, when mention is made of Jacob's building an Altar, chap. xxxv. ver. 1. and ver. 3. And so again, when mention is made of Moses's building an Altar after obtaining the victory over Amalek. Exodus, chap. xvii. ver. 13. And where the most solemn directions are given, by Almighty God Himself, concerning the building His Holy Altar, the word is still *Θυσιαστήριον*; both where an Altar of Earth is mentioned, and where an Altar of Stones is mentioned. Exodus, chap. xx. ver. 24, and 25, and 26. In Exodus, chap. xxi. ver. 14.—chap. xxix. ver. 37. ver. 44.—And where the Altar of Incense also is mentioned, chap. xxx. ver. 27. still the word is *Θυσιαστήριον* and not *βαυός*.

Again Leviticus, chap. vi. ver. 9.—Numbers, chap. vii. ver. 84.—chap. xviii. ver. 3; where the Holy Altar of God is mentioned; still the word is *Θυσιαστήριον*. And in Judges, chap. vi. ver. 25. 31. And 1 Samuel, chap. ii. ver. 33. And in 2 Samuel, chap. xxiv. ver. 18, where David is commanded to build an Altar unto the Lord, the same word is carefully used.

And further; when Elijah is said to have repaired the Altar of the Lord that was thrown down, 1 King's, chap. xviii. ver. 30; the identical same word *Θυσιαστήριον* is used.

So again, 2 Kings, chap. xviii. ver. 22; and in the Psalms, and Prophets continually; see Psalm, xxvi. ver. 6; Psalm, xliii. ver. 4. Isaiah, chap. xix. ver. 19.—chap. lvi. ver. 7.

the Altars, signifies most clearly, according to the explanation given of it by Eustatius, * *a certain structure RAISED HIGH, and having a plain surface, on which any thing may be RAISED UP and placed.* And the words, which in our Bible are translated, *offered on every Altar a bullock, and a ram*, do, in the Septuagint, most properly signify, *the lifting of the victims up on high*; whilst the words, *prepare me here*

Lamentations, chap. ii. ver. 7. Ezekiel, chap. viii. v. 16. Joel, chap. i. ver. 13.—chap. ii. ver. 17. Amos, chap. ii. ver. 8. Malachy, chap. i. ver. 7. 10.—chap. ii. ver. 13.

And the same word *Θυσιαστήριον* is in the Holy Gospel confirmed as the proper word for an Altar on which sacrifices were to be burnt, and consumed; see Matthew, chap. v. ver. 23.—chap. xxiii. ver. 18. 35. Luke, chap. xi. ver. 51. 1 Cor. chap. ix. ver. 13.—chap. x. ver. 18. Hebrews, chap. vii. ver. 13.—chap. xiii. ver. 10. Revelations, chap. vi. ver. 9.—chap. viii. ver. 3.—chap. ix. ver. 13.

It appears therefore manifestly, that this word *βωμὸς*, here used in the account given of Balak's Offerings, indicates most clearly a quite different thing from an Altar *on which sacrifices were burnt, and consumed by fire*, like those on the Holy Altar of God.

It must mean an Altar on which Victims, *prepared by the fire*, were placed as Oblations. And this is still more strongly confirmed, by the use of the same word in other places, where it is at all mentioned.

For when the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, on their going to dwell in their own country beyond Jordan, built *the Altar of Memorial*, with which the rest of the Tribes of Israel were so enraged, that they were about to fall upon them, and to destroy them; as conceiving it to be a breach of God's most Holy Law, and a discovery of some disposition towards Idolatry; and therefore an act of Rebellion against the Lord; we find then this same word *βωμὸς* used. Joshua, chap. 22. ver. 10, 11. 16. 19. 27. 34; and in the description given of it, we find it described as being *a great Altar to the View*. Whilst it is remarkable; that in the very same Chapter, where the Altar of God is mentioned, ver. 19, that is on the contrary called *Θυσιαστήριον*. And, in the vindication of their conduct, ver. 23, the Reubenites, &c. declare that this *Great Altar* they had built, was not for the purpose of *lifting up thereupon, on high, any whole burnt offering*, or any other sacrifice; as the Heathens were used to do.—And protest, ver. 29, against its being *Θυσιαστήριον, an Altar for burning Sacrifices at all*, whatever resemblance it might bear to the Altar of the Lord.

So in Isaiah's Prophecy, chap. xvii. ver. 8, where the confidence which the Syrians placed in their *false Altars* is mentioned; and again in chap. xxvii. ver. 9, where the indignation of the Lord is expressed against the idolatrous Altars; the word *βωμὸς* is used. Although where mention is made of the Altar that should be *to the Lord*, in the Land of Egypt, the word *Θυσιαστήριον* is used.

And in Exodus, chap. xxxiv. ver. 13; and Deuteronomy, chap. vii. ver. 5, where an express command is given to break down the Altars, and to overturn the Pillars, of the idolatrous people; the words used, are *βωμὸς* and *Στήλη*; and are used in such a manner conjointly, as to represent to our minds such structures as this at Stone Henge.

* See H. Stephens's Thesaurus, p. 800.

seven young bullocks, &c. indicates rather the dressing them, and making them ready, than merely *the burning of the victims*. At the same time also, the circumstance of Balak's continuing to stand with, his whole Court, some time, by what is called *his whole burnt offering*; or rather, by *his sacrifice dressed whole and entire*; seems to indicate, that it was *not consumed to ashes*; but that, having been *dressed and prepared whole, by the fire*, each carcass was, in that state, placed on one of the Altars; just as we read, in the Voyages of Cook, that the animals dressed in the South Sea Islands, were placed on their rude *high Altars*.

Not one word indeed is said of the time that was taken up in preparing the Altars. But as Balak had his whole army at hand to assist in that service; it would not require many days; even though they may be conceived to have been formed of stones of considerable bulk. And we may be assured that each of them must have been both large enough, and strong enough, to bear the placing thereon a bullock, and a ram. And so far must have resembled those at Stonehenge.

In the next place; from the circumstance mentioned, of Balak's standing with all the Rulers of Moab, by the Altars; it is most probable, and almost certain, that those Altars must have been placed in nearly a circular form: and that there must have been certain fixed stations for the Rulers with him: in which particulars again the ceremonial seems most exactly to agree, with what must have been the Observance of the Rites, in such an *high place*, as this remarkable one, which we have been considering, on Salisbury Plain. For here was evidently an hearth for the great fire for preparing the sacrifice near the centre;—and the high Altars of Oblation surrounding it, whereon to place the victims when dressed and prepared;—

Again, in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xvii. ver. 23, when St. Paul mentions the Altar at Athens, with the inscription *to the unknown God*, it is called *βωμὸς*.

To which I cannot but add this one remark, that, when in the latter ages of the refinements of the horrid corruptions of idolatry, carved Altars of a smaller size were used, instead of these great primæval instruments of abomination; all the specimens of them which we have remaining, of the age of the Greeks, or Romans, and which have from time to time been dug up; plainly shew, by their dimensions, and figure, that they were utterly incapable of having any victims burnt upon them; and that all that could be done, was the having Offerings *placed upon them*;—or at most, occasionally, a very small fire.

and a circle of small black pillars, just within that of the Altars, to denote *the stations* of the Chiefs, and great Officers attending; And another circle of small black pillars, just within the outward surrounding portico; probably to mark *the stations* of inferior Officers.

And in the third place, the description of the next set of Altars reared by Balak, still continues the idea of observances of exactly a similar kind; and even with an hint of their connection also, with other customs of the *Moabites*, that may be compared with those of the *Britons*. For we read,

Ver. 13. *And Balak said unto him; come yet with me to another place, from whence thou mayest not see this people, at a single glance: but thou shalt only see some part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence.*

Ver. 14. *And he brought him, to a spying place of the country; to the summit of an hiding place; (or STRONG-HOLD OF RETREAT.) And he built there seven HIGH ALTARS, and LIFTED UP ON HIGH a bullock and a ram on each altar.*

And surely it cannot escape notice, that we have here a very curious account of Balak's carrying Balaam, to just one of those kind of original fortresses, on the summit of a rock, which we have had occasion to describe in the beginning of these Observations.

Afterwards, when the second Prophecy had given as little satisfaction to Balak as the first; and when he had determined to make a third experiment; we have still an account of a repetition of the very same rites as before.

Ver. 27. *And Balak said unto Balaam, come, I will conduct thee to another place; peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence.*

Ver. 28. *And Balak brought Balaam, to the top of Peor, that looketh towards the Wilderness.*

Ver. 29. *And Balaam said unto Balak, build me here seven Altars, and PREPARE FOR ME here seven young bullocks, and seven rams.*

Ver. 30. *And Balak did as Balaam had said, and LIFTED UP ON HIGH a bullock and a ram on each Altar.*

Here, I should perhaps properly close these remarks.—But as it has pleased Almighty God, of His Infinite Wisdom, to call the

attention of mankind to the words even of a *Gentile Prophet*:—and as *those words*, according to the rendering of them in the Septuagint, are still more nervous, and more emphatically descriptive both of the prosperity of Israel, and of the GREATNESS of the future Kingdom of the Messiah, than the translation in our Bible; I cannot forbear just adding, for the fuller satisfaction of the curious, a careful translation from *thence*, of all the four distinct Prophecies, in successive order.—The first begins thus:

The First Prophecy.

Ver. 7. *And taking up his parable he said—Balak the King of Moab hath called me from Mesopotamia, out of the mountains of the East; saying; come defy for me Jacob: and come curse for me Israel.*

Ver. 8. *How shall I defy him, whom The Lord hath not defied? And how shall I curse him, whom God hath not cursed?*

Ver. 9. *For from the summit of the mountains I shall see him: And from the high hills I shall well consider him. Behold a People shall dwell apart: and shall not be reckoned amongst nations.**

Ver. 10. *Who shall be able to count the seed of Jacob? or who shall number the Governments† of Israel. Let my soul in death depart with the souls of the righteous:‡ and let my progeny be like his.*

* That is most plainly; *shall be distinct from, and superior to all other nations.* There is not surely a more astonishing and striking Prophecy than this, in all the Holy Scriptures: for it most manifestly has pointed out; not only the great peculiarity of character of the Jewish nation, that was to subsist even whilst they were to be in possession of their kingdom in the Land of Palestine: but also it has foretold, in what an unparalleled manner they should still subsist as a *distinct people*; even when they should be dispersed, and cease to be a nation: and moreover, what an high degree of supereminence should at last be obtained, by THE TRUE ISRAEL OF GOD, over all nations, in the days of the Messiah's final Kingdom. And ver. 10, seems, in pursuance and confirmation of this idea, to point out, and even to describe clearly, *The very many great, and subordinate dependant Governments*, that should finally be established, under *The true Israel*: when, according to the words of another superior, and subsequent Prophet, *The Kingdoms of this world shall become the Kingdoms of The Lord, and of His Christ.* Revelations, chap. xi. ver. 15.

† This surely denotes clearly the subordinate dependant Governments of a Great Empire.

‡ And at the same time, the solemn, *awful wish*, in the same verse, plainly indicates, that the full completion of the blessing, and of what was foreseen, related not merely to the then temporal prosperity of Israel, on earth; but to the days of future ages.

The Second Prophecy.

Ver. 18. *And taking up his parable he said, arise Balak, and hear; attend to a witness, thou son of Zippor.*

Ver. 19. *God is not as a man; that He should fail to perform. Nor as a son of man; that He should boast in vain. Hath He said? and shall He not do it? or shall He speak? and doth it not remain established?*

Ver. 20. *Behold I have received commandment to bless:—I shall bless: and shall not reverse it.*

Ver. 21. *There shall not be wretchedness in Jacob.* Neither shall distress be seen in Israel. The Lord his God is with him. And the glorious acts of Rulers are amongst them.*

Ver. 22. *It was God who brought him out of Egypt, as a glory of HIS ONLY HORN OF STRENGTH.+*

* Ver. 21. This verse, as it stands in the Septuagint, is A BLESSING INDEED; and most manifestly, both a declaration of the prosperity that should ensue, on the Israelites taking possession of the Promised Land, notwithstanding the contrary wishes of Balak; and still more plainly, a promise of the final blessings that should attend the kingdom of THE MESSIAH: whilst the words, as they are rendered in our translation in the Bible; *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel*; can scarcely be reconciled with what we read of the behaviour of the Israelites in the Wilderness, both in Exodus, and in this Book of Numbers.

+ This expression seems plainly to mean the same thing as if it had been said, as *the Glory of the Messiah*.—Because from Israel, the Messiah was to descend, and to be born according to the flesh.

It seems also to be an expression intended to denote the *Supereminent Dominion* of Christ, the Messiah. Just as He is, in other places, called *the ONLY Son of God*, John, chap. iii. ver. 16. 18. And *the ARM of the Lord*, Isaiah, chap. li. ver. 5. 9. Ibid, chap. liii. ver. 1. Ibid, chap. lxii. ver. 8. And His being here prefigured as *The Only Horn of Strength*; is surely exactly similar to, and coinciding with what we read, in many other passages of Divine writ; where it is said; *He shall exalt the Horn of his Anointed*. 1 Samuel, chap. ii. ver. 10. And again, Psalm, cxxxii. ver. 18. *There shall I make the Horn of David to flourish*. Both which are also clearly Prophecies concerning the Messiah. So in Psalm xcii. ver. 10, (or rather 11), the expression in the Septuagint is even still more exactly similar to this; for there we find the Royal Prophet, when speaking of future blessings and comfort, saying, *Mine Horn shall be exalted, as the Only Horn of Strength*. Which surely is both *there*, as well as *here*, a more intelligible translation, than that which we read in our English version; *mine horn shall be exalted like the horn of an unicorn*.

So again, in a manner consonant to these expressions, we read, Psalm lxxv. ver. 5. 6. *I said, to the ungodly, set not up your horn; set not up your horn on high*. And ver. 12. *All the horns of the ungodly will I break; and the horns of THE RIGHTEOUS shall be exalted*. Where it is remarkable, that, in the Greek, *the ungodly* is put in the plural number; but *the righteous* in the singular.

Ver. 23. *For there is no divination against Jacob. Neither is there any prophesying against Israel. IN TIME shall it be said to Jacob, and to Israel; what will God perform!*

Ver. 24. *Behold a people shall rise up as a young lion; and shall rage with fierceness as a great lion. He shall not lie down, until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain.*

The Third Prophecy.

Chap. xxiv. ver. 3. *And taking up his parable he said, Balaam, the son of Beor, hath said; the man who sees the very truth hath said;*

Ver. 4. *He hath said who heard the words of the Almighty God; who saw a vision of God IN A DREAM,* having the vail withdrawn from his eyes.*

Ver. 5. *How goodly are thy dwellings, O Jacob! and thy tents, O Israel!*

Ver. 6. *As shadowing groves; and as gardens by the rivers side; as tents which God hath firmly fixed; and as cedars by the waters.*

* The original word signifies most properly, *in his sleep*. And I cannot pass it by unnoticed, that this one verse, as it stands in the Septuagint, removes all the difficulty with regard to what is related concerning the *speaking of the ass*. For hence it should seem, that all that is related concerning that wonderful fact, was merely the substance of a divine dream, or vision in the night. And that indeed it was so, appears the more probable; because nothing is said, in the relation itself, concerning the attendants and messengers, who we know travelled with Balaam; and who must, as they were journeying with him, have seen or known something of that astonishing event, had it really happened on the road, and openly in the course of the day.

It must be confessed however, that the translation, as it stands in our version from the Hebrew, conveys rather a different idea; leading us to suppose that Balaam fell into a trance on the road. But even according to that reading;—from the words of the 4th verse, *which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open*; which are repeated again in the 16th verse, we may rest well assured, that whether this vision was in a dream at his own house; or at any resting place on the road; or whether it was an extatic vision, as he was riding, and setting upon the back of his beast: or after he had been crushed against a wall by the beast starting aside in the way; that yet, in any one of these cases, all that passed between Balaam and the ass, as to any words spoken, was *but in a vision*; and we are under no necessity at all of supposing that the beast ever did speak; or once utter any sound like a word.

And to these observations I cannot but add, that the word used by the Seventy, in the latter part of the verse, ἀπεκαλύμμενοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῆς, does much rather signify having a vail removed from his eyes, or having an *extatic vision*; than *having his eyes open*, according to the common acceptance of that expression.

Ver. 7. *There shall come forth A MAN from his seed, who shall rule over MANY nations: whose kingdoms shall be exalted higher than Gog; and His dominion shall be increased.*

Ver. 8. *God hath brought Him out of Egypt, as a glory of HIS ONLY HORN OF STRENGTH. He shall eat up nations of his enemies; and be replenished with their fatness; and with his arrows shall pierce through AN ENEMY INDEED.*

Ver. 9. *Couching, He lay down to rest as a great lion;* and as a young lion: who shall rouse him up?—They that bless Thee, are indeed blessed;—but they that curse Thee, are cursed.*

The Fourth Prophecy.

Ver. 15. *And taking up his parable he said, Balaam, the son of Beor hath said, the man who sees the very truth hath said;*

Ver. 16. *He hath said who heard the words of God; who understood the knowledge of the Most High; and who saw a vision of God, IN A DREAM, having the veil removed from his eyes.*

Ver. 17. *I shall behold Him;+ though not now. I pronounce Him blessed; though He doth not YET approach nigh. There shall arise a star out of Jacob. Even A MAN shall be raised up out of Israel, and shall break in pieces the rulers of Moab; and as a Shepherd, shall feed all the sons of Seth.*

Ver. 18. *And Edom shall be an inheritance. Even Esau, his Enemy, shall become an inheritance. And (IT SHALL BE SAID) Israel hath done valiantly.*

* As the 7th and 8th verses are a most remarkable prediction of the dominion of the Messiah over all nations; and of His great final victory over Sin, and Satan; so it deserves singular notice, that the emblem of a *Great and Strong Lion*, made use of to prefigure THE MESSIAH, in the 9th verse, is exactly conformable to the type by which He is prefigured, both in Jacob's Prophecy of Him; and in the book of Revelations. In Genesis, chap. xlix. ver. 9, 10, we read in the Septuagint, where the truest sense seems to be given;

Ver. 9. *Judah is a young lion. From the true rising branch my son art thou ascended. Couching he laid down to rest, AS A GREAT LION, and as a young lion, who shall rouse him?*

Ver. 10. *There shall not fail to be a Ruler out of Judah, nor a Leader descending from him, until HE come, for whom the RULE is finally determined. And HE is the expectation of all nations.*

And in the book of Revelations, chap. v. ver. 5, we read—*behold the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.*

+ The original words signify more fully, and properly; *I shall behold Him, and point to Him, to make Him known to others.*

Ver. 19. *And He shall be raised up out of Jacob; and shall destroy what was saved out of a city.*

Ver. 20. *And beholding Amalek; and taking up his parable he said, Amalek was the first of nations: but his seed shall be destroyed.*

Ver. 21. *And beholding the Kenite; and taking up his parable he said, Strong is thy dwelling place: but though thou puttest thy nest in a rock;*

Ver. 22. *And though Beor be to thee a nest of cunning device, the Assyrians shall carry thee into captivity.*

Ver. 23. *And beholding THE OG,—and taking up his parable, he said, alas, alas, who shall live, when God shall establish SUCH AS THESE BE!*

Ver. 24. *For they shall come from out of the hands (or out of the bands) of the Ketiaioi,* and shall afflict Assur; and shall afflict the Hebrews;+ and they themselves shall perish in like manner.*

Ver. 25. *And Balaam rising up, departed, returning to his place. And Balak went away BY HIMSELF to his house.*

The many strong reasons for concluding several of the Druidical Stone Circles to have been designed for astronomical uses, and observations, has been mentioned in the preceding pages. And an

* Who were meant by these people, the *Ketiaioi*, I cannot presume to say; whatever my suspicions be: not being satisfied with any translation whatever that I have met with of this word.

+ The ensuing prophecy, however, manifestly denounces, the final destruction of the Assyrian empire; and also the destruction, or at least the heavy affliction, of the *Hebrews*.

And therefore the persons described, as coming out of the hands (or from the bands) of the *Ketiaioi*, seem manifestly, in the first instance, to relate to the Romans: who were finally to destroy the remnant of the Assyrian empire, under Antiochus; and were also to lead the *Hebrews*, and Jews, into captivity: but were themselves to perish at last.

And as the original promises, and predictions, concerning the Great Messiah, (*THE MAN who was to arise out of Jacob*) were previous to, and established before all these denunciations, concerning the *Hebrews*; so it is obvious, that *His Kingdom and Glory* was to succeed, in order of time, to all the accomplishments of these Prophecies: and is therefore now still to be looked for, as to its final perfect completion: as are also perhaps the final great effects, and final destruction of the power of the very *Og*. Which last word perhaps related, at the time Balaam delivered the Prophecy, only to some then present power; esteemed either as allies to, or part of the fiercest of the bands of the *Moabites*. But who might very well be an emblematical representation of the destructive Power, that was to prevail, for a time, in the latter days.

ingenious writer, Dr. Smith,* has conceived the number and position of the Stones, at *Stone Henge*, to have had the same designation, in a sort of mystical manner.

Apprehending that the outer circle of thirty stones, multiplied by the number of the twelve stones, which stood within, and which (as he thinks) were intended to mark the twelve signs of the Zodiac, was a mode of representing the antient solar year, of 360 days. And that the inner circle of thirty stones, (one of which seems to have been smaller than the rest), denoted the lunar month of 29 days, 12 hours. Six at the upper end of the circle signifying *the hunters', and the harvest moon*; rising six nights together with little variation: whilst the great ellipse, composed of seven pair of pillars, with an impost on each pair, signified the seven planets, and their influences. Within which, was the circle of twelve stones, for the signs of the Zodiac. The centre of the circle is in $51^{\circ} 11''$ latitude: which he conceives to be peculiarly connected with the position of the stones. And the circular holes, near the margin of the bank, are by him apprehended, at the time of the construction, to have marked out a meridian.

The coincidence of circumstances, is certainly very extraordinary. And some such mystical allusion to astronomical numbers, and divisions of time, may very fairly be allowed to have been possibly introduced, in these superstitious structures; and especially in the latter, and most corrupt ages of pagan idolatry.

But, leaving that matter to be judged of, as every one shall think fit.—After having endeavoured, by a careful examination of the relative situation of the several parts; and by a comparison of them with antient rites, and ceremonies, (the history of which has been preserved by unquestionable records,) to give some adequate idea of the original appearance, and designation of *Stone Henge*; it may now be proper, notwithstanding the constant apparent confusion of the whole group of stones, when seen altogether;—and notwithstanding the great change which is ever made in their appearance, however little the situation of the observer is changed; to give one or two views of the whole assemblage of stones, as nearly as possible.

* See his ingenious Dissertation, printed at Salisbury 1770, 4to. entitled *Choir Gaur, the grand Orrery of the Druids*.

Pl. ^{vii}/₄ therefore represents the general view of the Remain, as it was about the year 1790; and as seen by a spectator, standing a little on the outside, westward, and looking eastward. Where the great Trilothon on the left of *the leaning stone*, near which the figure of an horse is placed, is that which has since fallen down. And *the leaning stone* itself is that which once formed one of the supporters of the greatest, and highest Trilothon standing at the upper end. It is that which was just behind the great black flat stone, for the fire hearth; which lies on the ground, and is shewn in the Plan, Pl. VI. fig. 1, at *γ*.

Pl. ^{vii}/₅ shews the same assemblage of stones; seen from the same spot; as it now appears in 1798, since the great Trilothon (marked 3 in the plan) has fallen.

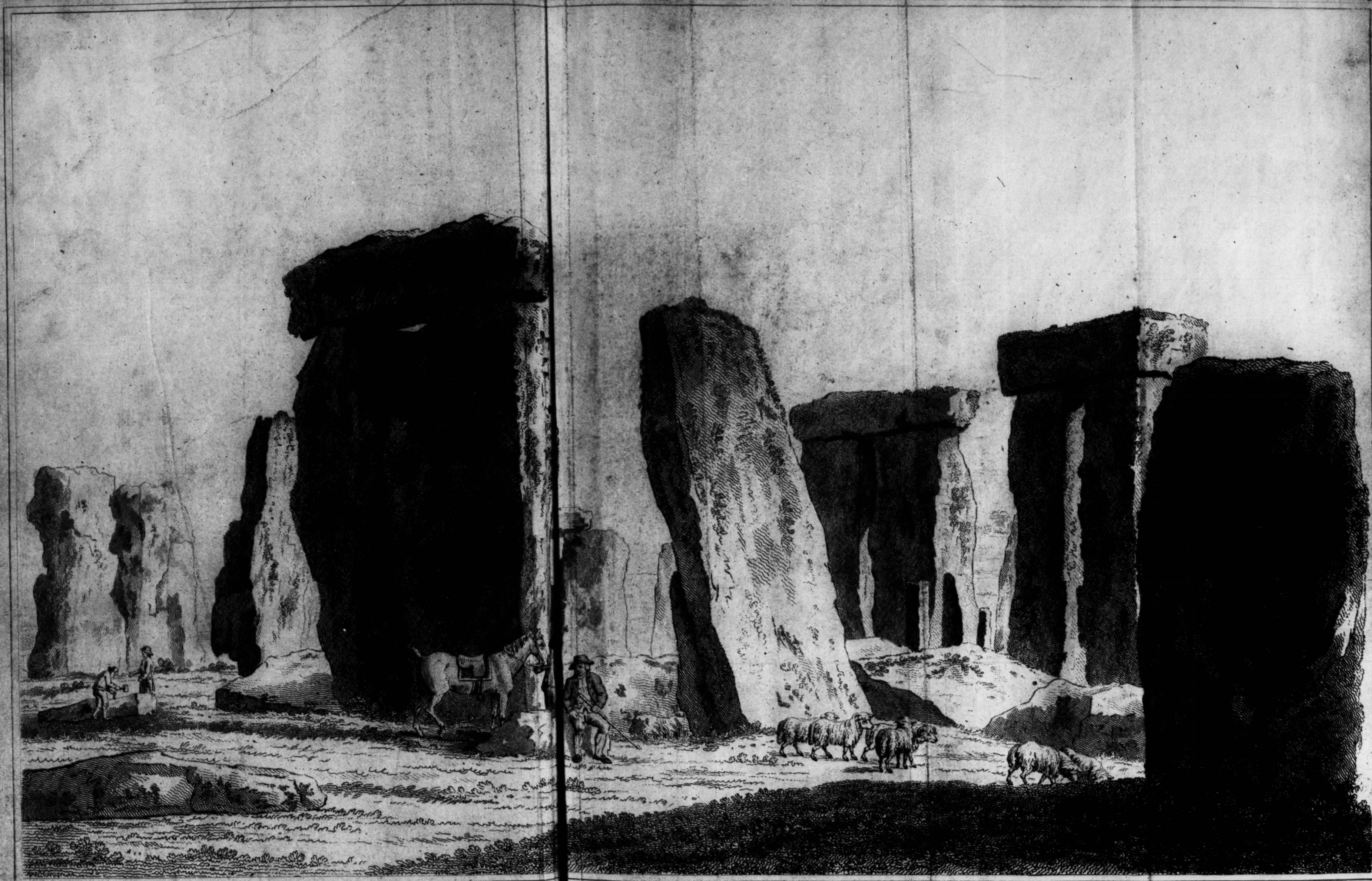
And the great original supporters of that Trilothon, now lying flat on the ground, are distinguished by the figure of a man standing by, in a stooping posture, to examine them.

And in this view also, are plainly seen, in the further part, on the right-hand side, and also near the fallen stone on the left, some of those smaller black upright stones; which have been mentioned, as designed probably to mark *the stations* of certain great Officers, during the celebration of the abominable superstitious rites. There are seen also, quite at the further end, some remains of the outward portico, or Circle of lower covered stones; a part of which were shewn. Pl. VII. fig. 1.

This portico is shewn by the outward regular circle of stones in the Plan, Pl. VI. fig. 2. As the stones supposed to have been placed, for marking the Stations of inferior Officers, are shewn by the next inward Circle: and those for marking the Stations of the great Officers, by those of the small inner Circle of all.*

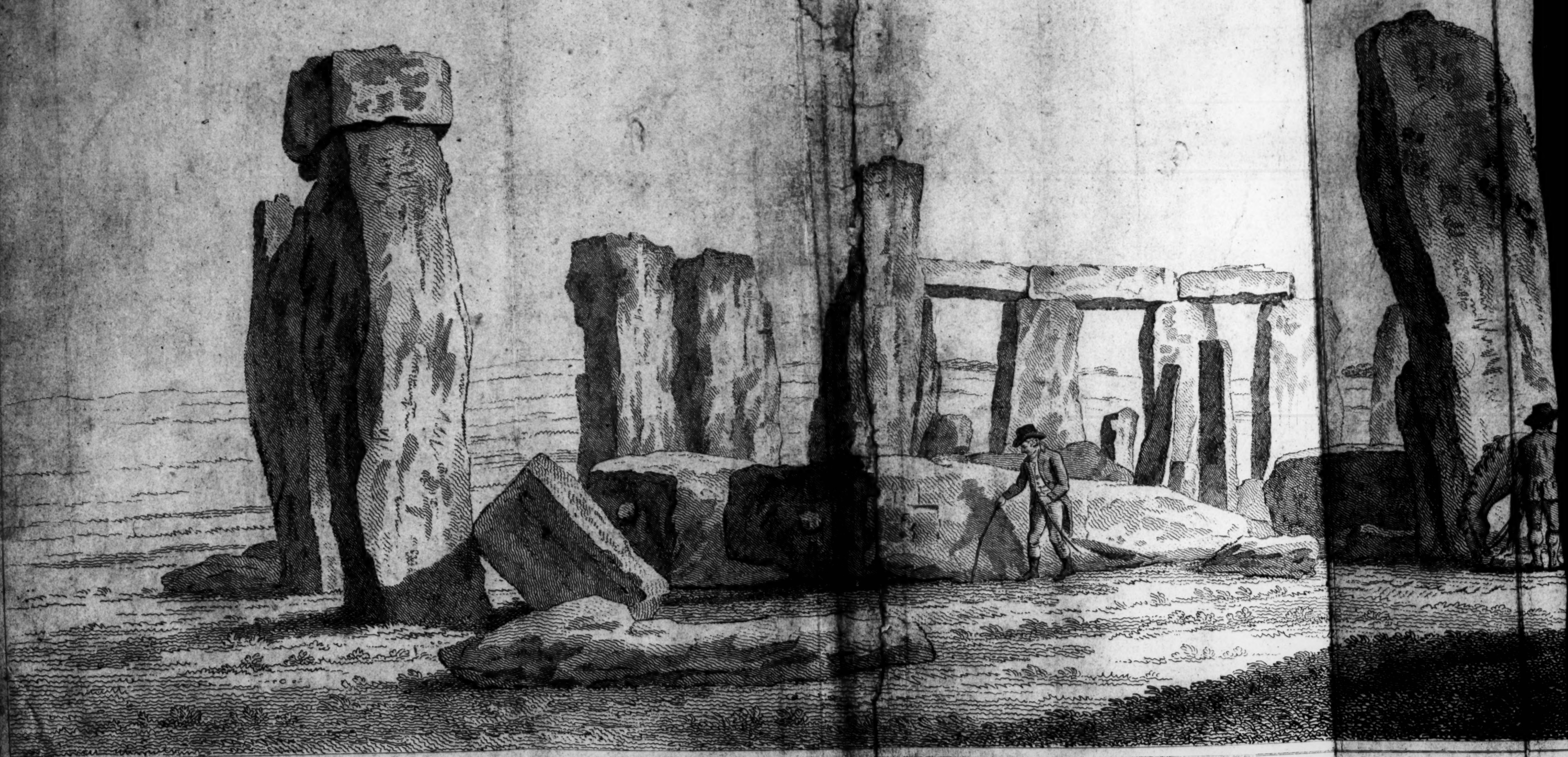
Pl. ^{vii}/₄ shews the same assemblage, as seen before the year 1790, by a spectator standing a little on the outside, southward, and looking northward. And here, *the leaning stone* is seen on the left: and the smaller stones of *station* are seen more plainly; and also somewhat more of the outward portico. But to avoid confusion, some of

* These two drawings I was favoured with by the Rev. Mr. Rackett, who had also been assisted by the celebrated Mr. Beachy; and to whom the world has been indebted for so many other useful and correct delineations.



View of Stonehenge from the western side of the leaning Stone.

Published 1792 by G. Nicol. Edin. 1792.



View of Stonehenge, from the western side of the leaning Stone, after the f

Published by J. Smith, Strand, London.



Stone, after the fall of the western Trilithon.



View of Stonehenge in 1790, from the Southern Side of the leaning Stones.

Published Feb. 1791 by C. Smith, Pall Mall.

the stones, lying on the ground, by the leaning stone, and before it, are left out.*

We may now venture to resume the course of our inquiries; and to proceed with our observations, by remarking plainly, and without further hesitation, that such as were Balaam's Altars, such in some degree were the Altars at Stone Henge; only more vast, and magnificent; being constructed by a people who were at the time more at leisure: and who erected the Altars with more additional appendages, for the purposes of more gross Superstitious Rites, introduced in the later, and still more corrupted ages of the world.

And after having adduced so many circumstances, to shew that it was in very truth an antient British Structure; an old *high Place*; a *βωμός*;—we may venture to affirm, that the idea of its having been, as some have supposed, merely a monument erected in remembrance of the massacre of the four hundred and sixty British nobles by Hengist; when he seized and took Vortigern, their king, prisoner, is not deserving of any credit.—Yet I must add, that nothing is more likely, than that the perfidious designs of that ambitious Saxon should have been carried into execution, in so dire a manner, on this very spot. For no place surely was so fit to assemble both Vortigern, and his train of Chieftains, for the purpose of a Solemn Treaty, as that *high place*, where the Britons had so often been accustomed to assemble, on their most awful public occasions.†

It was thus, that, in still earlier times, *Ishmael*, with his perfidious train, persuaded *Gedaliah*, the Governor of Judea under *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the *high place* at *Mizpah*, to treat with him; and to eat bread, or feast with him; when, just like Hengist, on a sign given, he caused his followers to slay *Gedaliah*, and all those Jews and officers who were with him.‡ The facts, and stories, are almost exactly similar: and I can therefore easily believe, that *this* was indeed the very spot whereon that murder by Hengist was

* It ought to be mentioned, on this occasion also, that there are some very curious representations of Stone Henge, as seen in different points of view, in a publication entitled *a Tour through the South of England, Wales, and Ireland, made during the summer of 1791*. And that the late ingenious *Mr. Keate* published one or two Views of parts of the outward Portico.

† There is a curious account of this Massacre in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. I. p. 146.

‡ Jeremiah, chap. xl. ver. 13. 16. chap. xli. ver. 1. 3.

committed; although it never could have been originally reared in remembrance of that murder, consistently with any degree of historical probability; and although it existed as a great *high-place*, long before this dreadful event; as *Mizpah* did, long before the murder of *Gedaliah*, and his officers.

It ought just to be added; that it has been observed,* that its very British name *Cor Gaur*, points out an *Asiatic* origin; and leads us to conclude, that it was some kind of resemblance of something derived from the East. As indeed many other Oriental, and Hebrew words, introduced into the British language (as appears from a comparison of them with the Welch language), shew that both names, and rites, were in many instances derived from the Phoenicians, and from the abominations in the Land of Canaan: or perhaps, rather, from that *original root*; from whence those still more corrupted abominations in the Land of Canaan sprang.

Let us now proceed to the consideration of those other Remains, of a similar kind, that have been discovered, of late years, in the Isle of Jersey; upon a smaller scale; and approaching nearer, in bulk, even to the *Whattas*, or superstitious Altars, still in use amongst barbarous nations, in the South Sea Islands. Whilst also, they may be deemed to have approached nearer to the real bulk of the Altars erected by *Balak*.

They are placed round an irregular Circle, about 24 feet in diameter; or rather 60 feet in circumference.

Their number at present, is mentioned in the *Archaeologia* as being five only; but this, on a close inspection of the whole, as it has been cautiously preserved, and set up in the garden of General Conway, I found to be a mistake: for the number is evidently seven: the termination of the covered entrance itself having plainly served for one of the Altars; and there being evidently the remains of one other Altar, on the right-hand side; of which only the top stone is gone.

The interval between the Altars, is filled up with rude Stone Pillars, of irregular heights; a Pillar being placed between every

* See a very ingenious Dissertation, by W. Williams, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXI. p. 108.

† See the account, and plan, and views of the whole, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. VIII. p. 384. 386.

two Altars: whilst the whole seem never to have been profaned by the use of any iron tool.*

These Altars are (in the *Archaeologia*), called *Lodges*, or *Cells*: and, by some subsequent observers of this curious Remain, have even been supposed to have been mere *Kistvaens*; or chests, and tombs, for depositing dead bodies. Which latter supposition had some countenance, from the state in which this whole extraordinary structure was first discovered in Jersey: it having been buried under an heap of earth and stones, like a barrow.

But as the small narrow intercolumniations of the *Trilithons*, (or great high Altars), at Stone Henge, shew, that the void spaces under them could never have been *Kistvaens*; so here, the small and narrow dimensions of the cavities, under these Altars, are but ill adapted to such a purpose. Whilst at the same time, it ought to be remarked, that in order to their having ever been appropriated to such use, under any barrow, the inner circular area must have been vaulted, or covered over; + at least as securely as the passage of entrance can be supposed to have been secured by the covering of large stones. But as, on the one hand, there was no appearance of any vault, or covering of stone, remaining; so, on the other, there is no one appearance in the structure, that should lead us to conclude, that those who erected it, had the least idea how to form an arch, or vaulted roof. And the irregular heights, and forms of the stone pillars, between the Altars, shews clearly that it was impossible any such rude vaulted roof should ever have been constructed.

These Cells therefore, or rather real Altars, could never have had any use at all, except when quite clear of the superincumbent stones and earth, and freely exposed to the open air.

They were obviously covered up at last, on purpose to be concealed; and to be preserved, if possible, as sacred, from such destruction as had been brought upon so many others in Anglesey, the chief Druidical Island, by the Roman Invaders; and out of terror of the dire example of vengeance executed *there*, by Suetonius Paulinus.

* See the Views of them both in the *Archaeologia*, Pl. XXVIII. p. 384; and also in Grose's *Antiquities*, Vol. VI.

+ We shall hereafter find, that in real barrows, such covering of the interior part was contrived by rude stones laid one upon another; forming a sort of *hollow cone*.

A Medal of Claudius Cæsar, found in the midst of the earth and stones, under which this Circle of Altars was buried,* seems to evince this to have been the case.

And how far it was most unlikely that these Altars should ever have been designed for Kistvaens, or Sepulchres, appears from their dimensions, even as given in the *Archæologia*; and still more from the dimensions which I took myself, measuring exactly the insides.

Of those which remained perfect, the cavity of the largest, as described in the *Archæologia*, facing nearly the east, measures only 4 feet 3 inches in length; and 4 feet 3 inches in depth, from the front.

The next, on the left, measures 4 feet in breadth; 4 feet 3 inches in length; and 3 feet 7 inches in height.

The third, measures, in breadth, 2 feet 16 inches: in length, 2 feet 19 inches; in height, 4 feet.† And the rest seem to have been in the same sort of proportion.‡

And the entrance to this sacred Circle, is a covered way, (composed of rude upright stones, and of as rude stones lying across them), and was about 15 feet in length; and about 5 feet 3 inches in breadth; and 4 feet 4 inches in height, in the inside; and somewhat smaller at the beginning of it.

According to my measures, (leaving out every where the thickness of the stones themselves), the whole length of the entrance was near 16 feet.

The Altar which terminated it, and under which any person entering is obliged to pass, fronts the highest stone in the circle, and may therefore be called No. 1.

And its dimensions, and the dimensions of all the rest, going round the circle on the inside, in regular order, proceeding from the entrance towards the left, are as follows, by my measures:

	F.	In.
No. 1	4	8
2	2	11
3	4	0
4	2	11
5	2	11
6	2	11
7	2	11
8	2	11
9	2	11
10	2	11
11	2	11
12	2	11
13	2	11
14	2	11
15	2	11
16	2	11
17	2	11
18	2	11
19	2	11
20	2	11
21	2	11
22	2	11
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96	2	11
97	2	11
98	2	11
99	2	11
100	2	11

* *Archæologia*, Vol. VIII. p. 385. + *Ibid.* p. 384. † The whole are now removed to General Conway's elegant seat, near Henley on Thames.

The account in the Archaeologia says, the entrance fronted almost eastward; and the entrance did at Stone Henge. And at some small distance to the westward, only a little, was found standing. The dimensions of the stones are as follows:—

No. 1, the largest	12	10	high.
No. 2, the second largest	12	10	high.
No. 3, the third largest	12	10	high.
No. 4, almost opposite to the entrance, is	3	6	wide,
	5	7	deep,
	4	0	high.
No. 5, the broken one	2	8	wide,
	2	3	deep,
	3	7	high.
No. 6, the broken one	2	8	wide,
	2	3	deep,
	3	7	high.
No. 7, the broken one	2	8	wide,
	2	3	deep,
	3	7	high.

The dimensions of the Circle, measuring first a diameter from one of the side stones at the entrance, to the middle of the highest single stone opposite; and then a diameter quite across, are, as I found them,

F. In.

The first diameter 24 6
 And the transverse diameter 24 9
 And the first was, as nearly as I could judge, in a direction, ENE and WSW.
 And the transverse one SSE and NNW.

So that the entrance must have fronted about E by N. And probably, if we make allowance for the variation of the needle during a long succession of ages, was originally exactly E; as it stood in Jersey. I venture to say this; because great care was taken, by General Conway, to have every stone placed exactly in the same position in which it was originally found in that island.

The account in the *Archaeologia* says, the entrance fronted almost eastward; as the entrance did at Stone Henge. And at some small distance before the entrance, only a little on one side, was found standing a sort of *Stone of Memorial*; represented in the Plan, in the *Archaeologia*, and in Grose's Views.

We have here, therefore, surely another, though smaller group, of those Druidical Altars of Oblation; which may justly be compared with those, reared under the direction of the Patriarchal corrupt Prophet *Balaam*.

And the constant tradition of a great Cromlech, and of a Circle of Stones, having also stood formerly on the same hill in Jersey; and of many other Druidical Monuments having been discovered; both here, and in the neighbouring Islands of Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, (most of which have been pulled down, and used for building) confirms this idea.

The Stones of this small Circle of Altars, found in Jersey, do not bear any such marks of the tool, as those at Stone Henge; and seem to have been preserved in their original situation merely by means of having been covered up. Many others therefore of the more ancient ones, in this our Island, may easily be conceived to have been thrown down long ago; and, like the many Druidical antiquities in Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney, to have been used for buildings, and walls.

But nevertheless we are not without instances of some fragments, the few remaining parts of which seem clearly to point out, where such sort of Circles, of Altars of Oblations, may have been, in other parts of the country, in the times of the ancient Britons.

And amongst these, on this occasion, I cannot but particularly mention, that most curious Druidical Circle, in the Peak of Derbyshire, called *Arbelows*, or *Arbour-lows*; about five miles from Bake-well:* which, when fully considered, there is great reason to think, notwithstanding its mutilated appearance, in its present ruined state, was once a regular structure, very nearly of the same kind with that at *Stone Henge*. For we find there, several great stones lying on

* It is most exactly described, and represented, by Mr. Pegge, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. VII. p. 131.—who assigns many strong reasons for concluding it to be a British Temple.

the ground, in pairs, and much broken; some of which were lately remembered by old persons in the neighbourhood, to have stood upright. It may therefore fairly be concluded, that the greater part of them stood upright also; and in pairs;* two and two, nearly in the spots where they now are found. And if they stood in a Circle; and in such a peculiar position; there seems good reason to apprehend, that each pair had a transom stone, or impost, at the top, somewhat like those at Stone Henge; which impost was composed, either of the fragments now lying on the ground, near the pairs of Stones; or of fragments more broken, and carried away.

Besides this resemblance; near the middle of the Circle, which is 58 yards in diameter, is found lying flat (just as at Stone Henge), a great Stone, fit for a fire hearth, 13 feet long, and 7 feet wide;† and near to this another, which seems to have formed part of a Cromlech.

We have therefore here, the apparent remains of a great Stone, for the fire, and burning; and of a Circle of Altars of Oblation; nearly as at Stone Henge. To which, if we add, that there appear to have been Pillars on each side the entrance; and that the whole Circle is surrounded with a great Rampart, or Bank, 6 or 7 yards high, measuring by the slope; having a fosse within, and not on the outside, which fosse, is 5 yards over, in the bottom; the resemblance which *Arbelows* bears to *Stone Henge* cannot escape notice.

And this resemblance becomes still more striking; when we consider, that those two tumuli, called the *Lows*, have each of them a circular hollow cavity, like a bason, on the top;‡ that may be somewhat compared with the remarkable basons on the banks of the Inclosure of Stone Henge: and that one of these *Lows*, with its bason, stands near adjoining to the Rampart, or Bank, of this Circle, the *Arbelows*; and that the other is on the bank itself.

One can scarce forbear entertaining a suspicion, in like manner, that a Circle of Stones, which has before been mentioned, not far from *Castell Dinas* (a strong British fortress), in *Wales*, was somewhat of this kind. For there we find a great Circle of Stones, about

* *Archaeologia*, Vol. VII. p. 142.

† *Ibid.* p. 142, 143.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 141.

56 feet in diameter; formed of piles of loose stones, with upright Columns, placed in pairs, at 5 yards distance from each other.

And it ought not to be omitted; that, at about 90 yards distance from this, is another lesser Circle of Stones, consisting of several large upright stones, amongst others that are smaller.

An attentive observer, with more opportunities than have been in my power, may perhaps soon discover more instances; wherein Stone Pillars, standing, equally high, in pairs; and in parts of the periphery of a Circle, or Oval, are to be met with.

And perhaps, amongst others, may be named one not far from Penrith, in Cumberland, at a place called *Addingham*, or *Ald-Hengham*, where is a Circle of Stones, 300 feet in diameter, having sixty-seven of the stones now standing, each 10 feet high: of which, in Camden's time, there were seventy-seven. For here, as at Stone Henge, there is found, on the outside, at the distance of about 70 or 100 feet, a vast upright *Stone of Memorial*; 12 or 15 feet in height; near 2 yards square at bottom; and having, as a peculiarity, a remarkable hollow at the top. And a little way from it, nearer to the Circle, were, within the remembrance of several persons still living, four large Stones, forming a sort of *Altar*, or *Cromlech*.

This Circle is by the vulgar called *Long Meg*, and her Daughters;† and by Camden is too hastily concluded to be the Monument of some victory. But its whole appearance, and the adjoining *Altar*, and *Stone of Memorial*, shew it to have been a British Circle. A fact that is confirmed also by the British name of the town near adjoining, *Penrith*; and by its having still further the appendage of another lesser Circle, at a small distance, 50 feet in diameter; consisting of twenty stones.

On this occasion too, though it does not exactly relate to the present purpose, it would be some omission, not to mention that most remarkable Remain in Westmoreland, at a little distance from Penrith, called *Mayborough*; situated on the summit of a small hill; because it shews still further the connection of the first-mentioned Circle of Stones, with British Antiquities.

* Pennant's Journey to Snowdon, p. 110.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 174. 190.
in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. I. p. 239.

‡ A view of this Circle is given

For it is a vast circular bank ; the height and breadth of which is stupendous ; surrounding an area 88 yards in diameter, and having an entrance on the east side.* Near the middle is an upright stone, 9 feet 8 inches high, and 17 feet in circumference. And there had been three more placed near it, so as to form a square ; besides four more on the sides of the entrance, one at each exterior, and one at each interior corner. All which last, have of late years, been blasted by gunpowder, to clear the ground.

And this curious place, seems, in truth, to have been a British Druidical Court, for the administration of justice ; and for other Civil purposes, such as Inaugurations : somewhat similar to that in Anglesey, called Bryn-gwyn, at Tre'r Dryw, that is mentioned by Rowland.† And it has, like that, a round Cirque, or Theatre also, near adjoining ; formed, in this instance, by an high dike of earth, and a deep fosse within, surrounding an area 29 yards in diameter.

These extraordinary British Remains, therefore, so near Penrith, confirm the fact, that the Circle at Addingham is also British.

And indeed ; notwithstanding Mr. Pennant's apprehension concerning a great Alley, or Avenue of Stones, a few miles distance from Penrith, near Shap, being a Danish work ; I must venture to form the same conclusion with regard to it. For its near resemblance to the great Avenues long since taken notice of by Dr. Stukeley, at Abury, in Wiltshire ; and its proximity to these other unquestionably British Remains, can scarce leave a doubt as to the fact : at the same time that certain large Circles, and Ovals, formed of smaller stones, and placed near unto that Avenue, do further speak, in effect, the same language.

The Avenue itself, was formed‡ of a double row of granites of immense size, that once extended above a mile. And it was crossed at the end by another row, all placed at some distance from each other. But a great part of them have been destroyed, within the remembrance of persons still living.

On the top of one of the Stones in the Addingham Circle, we

* See a curious account of it, and a good representation, by Mr. Pennant ; Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 256. † Mona Antiqua, p. 89.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 258.

have found was a remarkable hollow, like a rock bason. It probably was for some such purpose as the basons, on the bank, at Stone Henge: for holding of blood, or libations.

Nor are we without other instances, where such substitutes appear.—In the shire of Meris, or Merns, in Scotland, about five miles from Aberdeen,* we find two Circles of Stones.—The one consisting of two concentric Circles; the exterior, above 24 paces in diameter, having thirteen great stones, 9 feet high, standing; and two fallen down: and the interior, 3 paces within the former, having the stones only 3 feet high; like small *Stones of Station*. Whilst towards the east, at 26 paces distance from this Circle, is a great sort of sacrificing *Stone, placed flat on the ground*, (as at Stone Henge); in which there is also a *rock bason*, partly natural, partly artificial, that will hold a Scotch gallon of water.

The other Circle, is rather larger; and at the distance of a bow shot, nearly, from the first: and consists of three concentric Circles; the Stones of the outermost being about 9 feet high; and those of each of the others, like stones *to denote Stations*, only 3. And here again, *on the top of one of the stones, on the east side of the largest Circle, is formed a bason*, or hollowness, 3 inches deep; in the bottom of which is cut a sort of little trough, crossed by another, that is carried down by the side of the stone some way. One other stone also, in the Circle, is observed to have a cavity, or *rock bason* upon it.

Again, in the largest of the Orkney Islands, at a place called Stennis, a most remarkable spot; at the south end of a rude causey of loose stones, forming a sort of bridge over the narrowest part of a lock, is a great Circle, set about with high smooth stones, or flags, about 20 feet high above ground; + 6 feet broad, and each a foot or two thick. And betwixt that circle, and the causey are two other stones, standing much in the same manner as the outward stones at Stone Henge; one of which hath a round hole, or cavity in it. And at the other end of the causey, about half a mile from it, is another great Circle; 110 paces in diameter, with such stones as the former placed round it; and having, moreover, on the outside, towards the east and west,

* See a very curious account of these Circles, by Dr. Garden, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. I. p. 314.

+ Wallace's Description of the Orkney Isles, p. 53.

two artificial green mounts, just in the same manner, as at Stone Henge, we find two small cones, with cavities like basons at the top, placed on the bank of the outward ditch.

And we ought not to omit giving full weight to what has been well remarked by *Wallace*, in his description of these Circles; that *Boethius*, in his Life of *Mainus*, King of Scots, expressly says, that these kind of Circles, were, by the people of the country, called the Antient Temples of the Gods.

Perhaps even the *Roll-rich*, or *Rowldrich* Stones,* in Oxfordshire, may be named as having some affinity with Stone Henge; as they certainly had also with *Astronomical Circles*.

For they are placed in a ring, not circular, but rather elliptical; the longer diameter from north to south being 35 yards; and the shorter 33. The stones are of very unequal dimensions both in height, and thickness; few of those now remaining exceeding 4 feet, and some reaching scarce 2: but they seem *designedly* to have been placed at very unequal distances, which gave occasion to Mr. Gale, and others, to think there were many gaps. Almost precisely in the meridian, is one, on the north part, higher than the rest; being 7 feet high, and 5½ broad. And there seem to have been two such others placed opposite to it. At the distance of about 84 yards, also, on the outside of the Circle, towards the north-east, is an huge *Stone of Memorial*, at least 8 feet high, and 7 broad. And about 300 paces eastward from the Circle, instead of an Altar Stone lying on the ground, was a *Cromlech*, or standing Altar, formed of six stones, (five for supports, and one on the top), mentioned by Dr. Stukeley,† and called by him (though I think very improperly) a *Kistvaen*, but now destroyed.

There are some circular *dish-like cavities*, or *basons*, also, near adjoining, as at Stone Henge: and in the neighbourhood are many barrows; which confirm the British origin of the whole.

Perhaps the Circular Stones that formerly stood in the parish of Addington, near Town Malling, in Kent, which are now almost obliterated, partly by being buried under the sand, and partly by being broken, and removed, ought further to be named, as having

* See views of them in Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 285, 294; and Pl. XV. fig. 2. and 3.

† Aubrey Mon. Brit. Stukeley, Abury, p. 10. 14.

some affinity with those at *Stone Henge*. A curious account, has been given of them by Mr. Colebrooke: * from whence it appears, that they in reality formed an oval, 50 paces from east to west, and 42 paces from north to south: that some of them were 7 feet high, and some less. That at the east end, there lay on the ground, a great *Altar Stone*, placed somewhat like that at *Stone Henge*; 9 feet long, and 7 feet broad. Not far from which was seen another great *Stone*, 15 feet long; which there is reason to think once stood upright; and which I should therefore call the *Pillar of Memorial*.

What others there may be still remaining, in such a state as to deserve any particular examination, I shall leave to the investigation of those who may have opportunities of exploring the unfrequented parts of this country. But it would surely be a great omission, to conclude this short enumeration of the most distinguished Remains of this kind, without giving some account of that most superb specimen of British Druidical magnificence, at *Abiri*, or *Abury*, in Wiltshire, which once existed, though it is now quite mutilated; and indeed almost entirely destroyed: the Stones having been broken in pieces, from time to time, by means of fire, and sledge hammers, to build the village of Abury itself; and many of them having also been broken and buried, merely in order to turn the surface of the land into pasture.

In the beginning of this century, however, many persons were living, who remembered the whole of them remaining nearly entire. As we find, also, they had been very little disturbed in Holland's † time. It was not till the year 1713, that the great central Pillar of one of the double separate Circles in the great Inclosure, more than 20 feet high, was demolished; and even after that, one pair of those double Circles, was left almost in its original state till 1720; and enough of the other to ascertain what it once had been. And in Dr. Stukeley's time, when the destruction of the whole, for the purposes of building, was going on so rapidly, still forty-four of the Stones of the great outward Circle were left; and many of the Pillars of the great avenue: and a great Cromlech was in being; the upper stone of which he himself saw broken, and carried away;

* *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 107.

† *Holland's Camden*, p. 255; and Gough's edition, p. 112.

the fragments of it alone making no less than twenty good cart loads.

This structure, at *Abury*, must have been of vastness, and of original importance, even beyond those of *Carnbre-hill* in Cornwall; or those in the Isle of Anglesey, mentioned by Rowland. For it appeared, on a cautious examination of it, in the beginning of this century, that it must have consisted of no fewer than six hundred and fifty vast stones.

The idea that may be formed of the whole, from the several accounts that have been transmitted to us, * free from all conjectures of Dr. Stukeley's, or of any one else, is precisely this.

That it was seated on the most elevated part of a great plain, from whence is a very gradual descent every way.

That the main body consisted of one vast Circle, of an hundred enormous stones; each from 15 to 17 feet in height, and near as much in breadth: the intercolumniation between them being in general about 27 feet. And the whole Circle being at least about 1300 feet in diameter; surrounded with a great ditch, near 80 feet broad, and very deep, which had again, on its exterior part, a most lofty vallum, at least 60 feet broad, inclosing both the ditch, and an area, that contains about twenty-two acres, and is not less than 1400 feet in diameter. Whilst in the intermediate space, between the Ditch, and the great Circle of one hundred Stones, there was a fine circular walk, of about 50 feet in breadth.

Within the area, inclosed by the great Circle of one hundred stones, were two other distinct *double Circles*, placed in a line running north and south; as it were side by side; only removed at a little distance, the one from the other, and also from the Stones forming the great exterior Circle surrounding the whole area wherein they stood.

Each of these separate double Circles, consisted of two concentric Circles, one within another; whereof the outermost, in each pair, was nearly 466 feet in diameter, and consisted of thirty stones, whose dimensions, and intercolumniations, very nearly resembled those of the great inclosing Circle of one hundred stones. And the

* *Abury*, p. 43, 44, 47, 48. Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 111.

inner concentric circles, of each of these separate double circles, was about 186 feet in diameter; and consisted of twelve stones, of the same sort of proportions, and intervals.

In the centre of the first pair of those concentric Circles which stood southward, in the great circular area, was a *great Stone Pillar*, circular at the base, and above 20 feet in height.

And in the centre of the other pair of those two concentric Circles, which were placed northward, in the great circular area, was a vast Cromlech, (or as some have chosen to call it, on account of the appearance of the Cavity underneath, a *Nich*, or *Kebla*, or Cove), which appeared to have been originally no less than 16 or 17 feet in height, and 35 feet in breadth. And before this, flat on the ground, lay a great Hearth Stone, for fire, as at Stone Henge, towards the east, or rather towards the north-east.

From the great external circular area, inclosing, with its hundred pillars, these two distinct lesser circular structures, there were two great avenues, formed by rude Stone Pillars placed on each side, somewhat like that great alley, or avenue, which has been already mentioned, as not being far from Penrith in Cumberland.

One of these avenues, more than a mile in length, consisted of an hundred stones on each side, and led, in a south-east direction, to an hill near *Overton*, on which was another double circle of stones, placed *nearer together*. The outermost circle, about 120 feet in diameter, consisting of forty stones, about 5 feet high; and the innermost, which was concentric with it, of eighteen, larger than those of the outermost. And the diameter of this latter was about 45 feet.

The other avenue, from the great circular area first described, extended westward, in like manner, for more than a mile, towards *Beckhampton*, and did also consist of one hundred stones on each side. And half way, that is, at the fiftieth stone on the north side of this avenue, was another great Cromlech resembling that before described. And at the termination of this avenue, was *one single stone*; and then a vast number of *barrows* dispersed all over the plain.

Having thus endeavoured to convey as clear an idea as possible, from the accounts delivered down to us, I do not wish to add any

conjectures* concerning this extraordinary structure: but cannot forbear just observing, that the great Stone Pillar, in the centre of the southernmost double circle, seems to intimate, that the area there inclosed, was designed for the holding of great Councils, and for Inaugurations; whilst the Cromlech, and great Altar, in the centre of the northern double circle, indicates *that* inclosure to have been designed for sacrifices. And the great circle of an hundred Stones, and the vast ditch, and rampart, surrounding the whole vast area, in which both these solemn places stood, indicates a boundary of that awful regard that was paid to them. The double Circle, on Overton hill, to which one of the great avenues led, having the stone pillars much nearer to each other, induces one to think they might have had transom stones at top originally; and that, therefore, here were the Altars of Oblation. And the great Cromlech of the other avenue, seems to have been similar to some that will be examined, and considered, in the next part of our investigation; and will be remembered on that occasion.

In the mean while, a few more remarks ought to be added, with regard to the history of these kind of structures in general.

For as, upon a full consideration of all circumstances, there appears to have been a very remarkable similarity between the Remains at *Stone Henge*, and what we read concerning the *High-Places*, where Balaam and Balak offered up *their* Sacrifices; so indeed there is the utmost reason to conclude, that all these *Stone Circles*, were originally imitations of those primæval *High-Places*, of which we find so frequent mention made in the books of Holy Scripture: and a comparison of them, with those descriptions, may tend to fling considerable light upon many expressions in the Sacred Writings, that have been much misunderstood.

The common idea, which the prejudices of education, and of vulgar apprehension, have taught us to form, with regard to what

* It may perhaps greatly tend to confirm the truth of these Observations, to call to remembrance the appearance of the remains of the Stone Circles, at *Botallak*; and of those called the *Hurlers*, at *St. Clare*, in Cornwall; as represented in Borlase's *Antiquities*, Pl. XVI. p. 199; and Pl. XVII. fig. vi. p. 206;—only pursuing a train of ideas a little different from those of that curious, and valuable author. For in both those instances, we find different Stone Circles connected together in one group, as well as at *Abury*.

are called *High-Places*, in the Writings of Moses, and the Prophets, is, that they were the Summits of Hills: but though our *Stone Henge* is indeed on the summit of a wide extended hill country; and the Moabitish Altars, erected by Balak, were on very elevated spots; and so probably were many others; yet it manifestly appears, from certain passages in Scripture, that the word which we translate *High-Place*, rather referred to the height, and elevation, and design, of the structure itself, than to the height of its situation: and was generally made use of merely to denote, with peculiar emphasis, its being a *ḥauḥ*, or Altar of Oblation: whilst on account of each kind of *High-Place* being, in reality, applied to such an horrible superstitious use, in the worship of false gods, both the name, and thing itself became, in every instance, where it is mentioned in Scripture, so justly an object of sacred abhorrence.

That this name does not imply necessarily a place, or structure, on the top of an hill, is manifest from the cautious distinction preserved, in the enumeration of the idolatrous compliances of Ahaz, King of Judah;* where it is said, *he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree.*

And also,† that in every several city of Judah he made HIGH PLACES to burn incense unto other gods, and provoked to anger The Lord God of his Fathers.

And from the manner in which the Prophet Ezekiel‡ reproaches the Jews, for building *high places* in streets; and threatens that the enemy shall *break them down*; it is not only obvious that such *high places* were not properly hills, or structures on the summits of hills; but also that they were composed of rude stone, or artificial materials; which might be broken in pieces by violence.

This also appears from several other passages of Scripture, even where any of them are spoken of as being in reality situated on hills, or eminences.

Thus the same Prophet says,§ *Ye Mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God,—thus saith the LORD GOD TO THE MOUNTAINS and to the HILLS, to the RIVERS and to the VALLEYS, behold, I, even I will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your HIGH PLACES.*

* 2 Kings, chap. xvi. ver. 4. † 2 Chronicles, chap. xxviii. ver. 25.

‡ Ezekiel, chap. xvi. ver. 31. 39. § Ezekiel, chap. vi. ver. 3.

Where we may observe *high places* are mentioned, as being on the sides of rivers, and in valleys, as well as on mountains, and hills.

Again, it is very remarkable, that in the law,* where the *high places*, according to our translation, are threatened to be destroyed; the version of the Septuagint uses the word *Στήλας* to describe them; as threatening the destruction of their *Pillars*.

The command also, in the book of Numbers+ shews, that *High Places* were *artificial fabrics*, that might be pulled down, or overturned.

Ye shall, quite pluck down all their high places.

In reciting which command, the version of the Septuagint again uses the word *Στήλας*, *Pillars*; thereby implying, that *rude Stone Pillars*, were at least a very considerable appendage to, and an important part of the assemblage of objects in these places of superstition.

And it is very remarkable, that in the account given of the abominations of Jeroboam, we even read, *that he made an house of high places*.† Indicating, perhaps, that a number of them were capable of being contained within one vast inclosure; (as in the instance of Abury, in this country): though here it must be confessed, the Septuagint differs from our translation, by saying only, “that he made dwellings at the high places.”

Further; we read, concerning the *high places*, that they were not removed, or taken away, by Asa,§ or by Jehoshaphat,|| or by Jehoshaphat; ** “for the people OFFERED, and BURNT INCENSE yet in (or on) the high places.”

Which both implies that they were, in reality, removeable; and shews that they were used as *Altars of Oblation*.++ And we find that, by the good King Hezekiah, they were at last actually removed and taken away.

* Leviticus, chap. xxvi. ver. 30.

+ Numbers, chap. xxxiii. ver. 52.

† 1 Kings, chap. xii. ver. 31, 32.

§ Ibid. chap. xv. ver. 14.

|| Ibid. chap. xxii. ver. 43.

** 2 Kings, chap. xii. ver. 3.

++ This is confirmed by 2 Kings, chap. xiv. ver. 4. chap. xv. ver. 4. 35; and by chap. xviii. ver. 4. 22; and by 2 Chronicles, chap. xi. ver. 15. chap. xiv. ver. 3. chap. xv. ver. 17. chap. xvii. ver. 6. chap. xx. ver. 33. chap. xxi. ver. 11. chap. xxviii. ver. 4. 25. chap. xxxi. ver. 1. chap. xxxiv. ver. 3.

Further we read, that, by Manasseh,* *the high places*, which Hezekiah, his father, had destroyed, were again *built up*.

And again we read, that by that faithful Prince, Josiah, (who had even been foretold by name, by the word of Divine Prophecy) *the high places*, where the Priests *had burnt incense*, were defiled; † and that *he brake down the high places; and took away (or removed) the houses of the high places*.

And the words, in another mention of *High Places*, in the conclusion of the history of the ten tribes, are still more explicit: for there it is expressly said, that “*the children of Israel BUILT them HIGH PLACES IN ALL THEIR CITIES.‡ And there they burnt incense, in all the high places, as did the Heathen, whom the Lord carried away before them.*”

And in words, to the same purport, the Septuagint has the translation, as well as our version.

And indeed that their being Structures of this sort is the true idea of *High Places*, appears not only from this concluding part of the history of the Israelites, as far as relates to the ten tribes; but also from what is said in the very beginning of the history of the Kings of Judah, before the building of the Temple.

For there we read, § “*that the people sacrificed in HIGH PLACES, because there was no House built unto the name of the Lord, until those days.*”

“*And Solomon loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of David, his father: only he sacrificed, and burnt incense in high places.*”

“*And the King went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the GREAT HIGH PLACE: a thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that Altar.*”

And we cannot but observe, that although, indeed, in the Septuagint, only the words *ὕψις*, — *ὕψιστή*, and *ὑψιστήριον*, are used; yet that the altar of sacrifice, at Gibeon, must have been a prodigious large one; to admit of the offering up such a number of burnt offerings, according to any of the Observances appointed by the Law.

When Solomon afterwards offered up his magnificent burnt offer-

* 2 Kings, chap. xxi. ver. 3.

† Ibid. chap. xvii. ver. 9. 11.

‡ Ibid. chap. xxiii. ver. 8. 10.

§ 1 Kings, chap. iii. ver. 2, 3, 4.

ings, on the dedication of the Temple, we find it expressly said,* that the Altar there was not sufficiently large on that occasion.

"The King did hallow the middle of the Court that was before the house of the Lord: for there he offered burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings: *because the brazen Altar that was before the Lord, was too little to receive the burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings.*"

Having from these many instances, of the manner, in which the *High Places* of the most antient times of corrupt superstition, are mentioned in Scripture, found reason to conclude that they were clearly somewhat similar to those rude imitations of primæval corruptions, whereof we have so many Remains still existing, in the fragments of the aboriginal Structures of this Island: it may be, in the next place, considered as a matter not undeserving our attention, that we have proofs of similar usages, derived from the same Patriarchal origin, being mentioned in the most antient parts of Grecian fable, and history.

For we read in Homer's *Odyssey*, that when Telemachus approached the coast of *Pyle*, he found old *Nestor*, and his *Pylians*, performing sacred Rites, on the sea shore: and that there were nine *ἑστιάς*,† which word may surely much better be translated nine *Bases*, or *Seats*, or *Tables of honour*; or in other words, nine *High Altars*; than by any other expression we can make use of.

Pope's translation, in this instance, as in so many other places, is merely a sort of paraphrase, conveying but very imperfectly any thing like the real meaning.

"Now on the coast of *Pyle* the vessel falls,
 "Before old *Neleus*' venerable walls.
 "There, suppliant to the Monarch of the flood,
 "At nine green Theatres the *Pylians* stood;
 "Each held five hundred, (a deputed train),
 "At each, nine oxen on the sand lay slain.
 "They taste the entrails, and the Altars load
 "With smoking thighs, an offering to the god."

* 1 Kings, chap. viii. ver. 64.

† *Odyssey*, lib. iii. ver. 7.

And truly, as there is not the least authority, in the original words of Homer, for the word *green*; so indeed neither the word *Consessus*, *Assembly*, or *Company*, which our Latin translation uses, nor the expression, *nine green Theatres*, which Pope uses, do at all agree with what *ἑδραι* seems intended to imply, or with what is said in the following verses; the plain import of which seems to be; that there were *nine Stations*, with *high Altars*, or *Seats*, or *Tables of honour*; at every one of which stations a party of five hundred deputed Pyliaus were assembled; and at every one of which nine oxen were slain; the thigh parts of them being offered up, upon the altars; according to their idolatrous rites and usages.

And that this is the true import, seems further confirmed by verse 31.

Ἦσαν δ' ἐς Πυλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄγυρ' τε καὶ ἑδρας,
where it is said Telemachus and Mentor,

came to THE ASSEMBLY, and *ἑδρας* of the Pyliaus; for if, in this verse, *ἑδρας* meant either *Consessus*, *Assembly*, or *green Theatres*, the word would then be a mere repetition. But supposing it to mean *High Bases*, or *Altars*, all is plain, for the words then are,

They came to the Assembly, and High Altars of the Pyliaus.

And we find, also, that here, *close by the Altars*, sat Nestor, and his Sons; and here also they were actually *dressing* those other parts of the slain beasts, that were to be feasted upon by the guests.*

Consistently with this whole explanation, we find in another part of the Odyssey, King Alcinous, with his Phæacians, going down to the sea shore, in like manner, to offer his sacrifices.

And we read expressly, of his *standing*, with his people, *by the high Altar*, (βαμόν) like Balak.†

Ἄμμου φαίηκων ἡγήτορες, ἧδε μέδοντες,

Ἐξίστοτες περὶ βαμόν.

And Pope renders the lines not amiss, as to the idea to be conveyed;

The gather'd Tribes before the Altars stand,
And Chiefs and Rulers, a majestic band.

Odyssey, book xiii. line 216.

* Odyssey, book iii. ver. 33, to 40.

† Ibid. book xiii. ver. 187.

All these instances of the corruptions, and superstitious practices of early ages, though it is painful to enumerate them, yet cast light upon the aboriginal Remains of antiquity in our own country; which were unquestionably appendages to blind superstitious observances, derived by the first colonizers of this Island, from those primæval ancestors of mankind, from whom they were more immediately descended.

And one good use, at least, may be made of these informations: which is; that now, in these *latter days*, when the great light afforded to mankind, has rendered the *Pillars*, and *Altars* of the superstitious and idolatrous ages so incapable of conveying any longer any corrupt superstitious ideas, that the throwing of them utterly down could hardly more effectually abolish every thing abominable relating to them, than has been done;—that *now*, we may be led, by the comparison between these days, and those days, to be rightly and truly sensible of the advantages we enjoy. And when we consider the vast improvements of the arts, and of the conveniences of life, which have attended our emerging from the dreadful chains and fetters of those corrupt times; that we may become sincerely and heartily thankful, to the only true and Almighty God, Immortal, Eternal, Invisible; who (as an Apostle has expressed it) *hath delivered us from darkness, and brought us to His marvellous light*; in His own appointed way; through That Great Deliverer, who was foretold by Balaam, in those remarkable words of Prophecy; when, standing by his seven high Altars of Oblation, following his corrupt Observances, he was compelled, even against his will, to utter the most awful and Divine Truths.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING CROMLECHES.

WE come now to the investigation of a part of the Remains of British Antiquity, so horrible, that I should wish to pass over the consideration of all that relates thereunto, with as much rapidity as is possible; and would not even enter into the inquiry at all; but that it would leave the idea of *British Architecture* very imperfect;—and facts unexplained, which will appear, from a variety of circumstances, and unquestionable evidence, to have been hitherto much misunderstood.

There are, in various parts of this Island, Structures of vast ponderosity; and of more art and contrivance than has been usually apprehended; which have defied the ravages of ages; and still retain their pristine form; whilst Castles, Temples, and Magnificent Mansions, the long laboured works of the since intervening successive periods, have slowly arisen, and have more slowly fallen into such utter ruin, as to leave no traces behind them.

Amongst these *Stern Structures*, is one, which has stood out all the buffetings of time, and still remains the same.

Which yet, notwithstanding this, so long continuance under the eyes of mankind, has, from age to age, been so superficially viewed; and so erroneously described; though so frequently mentioned in the records of different periods; that of all the accounts now existing in print, there is hardly one, which, on a careful examination of the Structure itself, will stand the test; or be found adequate to convey the true and fair idea of its real form; proportions; and original designation: whilst it is indeed the most completely proper to elucidate the whole history of these kind of Remains, of any thing we have of the sort existing in this Island.

The edifice I mean, is that rude Structure in Kent, called *Kit's Cotty House*, which, therefore, after having explained the several

particular circumstances relating to it (observed on a most accurate survey), I shall make use of, to throw light upon the present subject: comparing it with other similar Structures; and with such fragments of antient history; and of the remains of primæval observances, and corruptions, in various parts of the world; as may, when brought into one point of view, concur to lead us to a right apprehension of the truth.

Nothing has been more detrimental to the progress of real science, than the too humble, and implicit, attention paid to the fancied conclusions of those, who, on the first revival of letters in these parts, began to form *hasty*, though ingenious, conclusions, concerning matters of this kind.

It was easy to fancy, that this structure was erected in memory of *Catigern*, and of the fatal battle fought between his brother *Vortimer*, and the Saxons, under *Hengist*, near *Aylesford*: because it certainly is in a part of the country, which could not be very remote from that very scene of action.

And this plausible fancy, once adopted; though without the least authority, either from positive tradition, or record; or from any circumstance belonging to the Structure itself, that should *truly* concur with such an assertion; has been implicitly followed; and almost without controversy delivered down, from one author to another; without once examining fully, and fairly, the edifice itself, or the peculiar scenery of the country around it; and without ever duly considering either its appendage, of an *Altar on the ground*; or the testimony, and light, that real history might afford, to clear up, what might be known concerning this interesting Remain. And indeed without rendering any tolerable account, why the body of *Catigern* should be conveyed from the field of battle, to this spot, rather than to any other.

First, let us hear; what the very best, though indeed erroneous, accounts of this strange piece of antiquity describe. And then let us see; on the whole, what is its real figure; and artificial construction. And what the records of antiquity, and similar appearances, may teach us concerning its real use.

Camden says,* *Catigern was buried in great state, AS IT IS THOUGHT,*

* Gibson's Camden, p. 194.

near Ailesford, where those four vast stones are pitched on end, with others lying crossways upon them; much of the same form with that British Monument called Stone Henge.

For which strange and mistaken account his recent Commentator* makes the handsomest apology possible;—yet without giving any clear idea of the real form of the Structure;—whilst his old Editor, Holland, in the edition of 1610, adding indeed, in part, an account of his own, instead of a close translation, gave a better and fuller description, though not the right one:—it being very deficient, from the circumstance, of representing the top stone as placed, like those at Stone Henge flat, and horizontally; instead of rightly explaining its inclined position. His words are worth inserting, however, both because of their nearer approach to accuracy; and because they shew, still more fully than those of Camden, how little credit is to be given to any apprehension of this structure being Catigern's Tomb, or Kistvaen.

“Catigern,† honoured with a stately, and solemn funeral, is thought to have been enterred neere unto Ailesford, where, under the side of a hill, I saw four huge, rude, hard stones erected, two for the sides, one transversall in the midst between them, and the hugest of all, piled and laied over them in manner of the British Monument which is called Stone Heng, but not so artificially with mortis and tenants.”

Stow's account is deficient, exactly in the same manner, and for the same cause.

“I have myself (says he),‡ in company with divers worshipful and learned gentlemen, beheld it in 1590, and is of four flat stones, one of them standing upright, in the middle of two other, inclosing the edge sides of the first, and the fourth laid flat aloft the other three, and is of such height that men may stand on either side the middle stone, in time of storm or tempest, safe from wind and rain, being defended with the breadth of the stones, as having one at their backs, one on either side, and the fourth over their heads: and about one coit's cast from this Monument, lieth another great stone, much part thereof in the ground, as fallen down when the same had been affixed.”

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 231.

† Holland's Camden, p. 332.

‡ Chronicle, p. 52.

Mr. Colebrooke, in his very curious Dissertation* in the Archaeologia, falls into the same mistake; and besides this, as well as Camden and Stowe, entirely neglects to advert to the side stones being not *parallel*; on which the great durability of the Structure manifestly depends.

Philipot† gives a description; and a representation, engraved in the style of Hollar; yet both so totally unlike the truth, that it would be improper to mention either, except for the sake of shewing the more clearly, how strangely the Antiquities of this country have been misrepresented, for want of due attention.

And what is still more extraordinary, even our last painful Antiquary, Mr. Grose, has fallen into a mistake almost more inexcusable than all the rest. For he tells us,

"This Monument is composed of four large Stones, of that sort called Kentish Rag: three of them are set *upright* in the ground, *inclosing three sides of a square*, and fronting the north, west, and south points; the fourth, which is the largest, is laid transversely over, and serves as a covering, but does not touch the south stone. It is not parallel to the horizon, but inclines towards the west, in an angle of about nine degrees; owing to the west, or *end stone*, on which it rests, being somewhat shorter than the other supporter. Perhaps the east end, now open, was once also inclosed; as at seventy yards to the northwest, lies another stone of the same kind and form, as those standing."

And further on, describing the dimensions of the stones, he says,

"The west, or *end stone*, is extremely irregular."‡

Thus representing the whole throughout, as if the stones were placed, two on the sides, and one quite at the end; with a cover at top, forming merely one regular Cell, or small room. Which is very far from being the case. His description also is very inadvertent: for the *Altar Stone*, lying towards the north-west, is not very likely to have been a stone closing the now open supposed front, which is towards the south-east; nor would the dimensions have suited either front, as a means of closing it up.

Harris, in his History of Kent,§ gives a representation a very

* Archaeologia, Vol. II. p. 107.

† Villare Cantianum, p. 48.

‡ Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II.

§ History of Kent, p. 371.

little better than Philipots; and under just the same sort of misapprehensions.

And Mr. Hasted, at the same time that he gives us an engraved Representation from a drawing, which is in many respects one of the best that we have; yet neglects to mention the inclination, and sloping of the top stone. And although he fairly, and rightly describes the *third* supporting stone, as being placed in the *middle*, yet suffers the engraving, for want of a very little attention to *keeping*, to appear as if this third stone was placed at the further end of a sort of Cell, or Chamber;* containing the whole of the space under the superincumbent stone.

He also falls into a strange mistake with regard to the position of the *front* of the Structure, both inconsistent with its real position (even allowing that to be the front which has been generally conceived to be such), and also inconsistent with his own description of the Stone lying on the ground. I cannot but say also, that the outlines of the supporting stone, on the right hand, are exceedingly erroneous.

Borlase, in his representation of it; willing to believe, consistently with prejudices he had adopted, that it was a mere Kistvaen, or tomb, or place of burial, does, like Grose, make it appear as if the three supporting stones stood, two on each side, and one at the further end, so as to form a chest, or at least a covering of an area fit for sepulture: taking his information, not from actual inspection, but from a drawing made by another person.†

Yet his own plain account of such Structures of a similar kind as he had seen, might have been sufficient, one would have thought, to have led him to a more accurate investigation of this matter. For he says fairly, in the very same page,

“ I find the number of supporters, in all the Monuments of this kind which I have seen, to be no more than *three*, the reason of which I take to be this; they found it much easier to place and fix securely any incumbent weight on three supporters, than on four, or more; because, in the latter case, also the supporters must be exactly level on the top, and the lower surface also of the

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 178.

† Antiquities of Cornwall, Pl. XXII. p. 224.

“covering stone be planed and true, in order to bring the weight
 “to bear equally on every supporter; whereas three supporters
 “have no occasion for such nicety; the incumbent weight easily
 “inclining itself, and resting on any three props (though not of
 “one level on the top); and accordingly, we find the covering
 “Stones, not horizontal, *but always more or less shelving*.”

This account, with the consideration of the real advantage of three stones as supporters, rather than any greater number, might have led him to have attended more carefully to the manner in which they might *best be placed for strength*; if he had not been prejudiced by his idea of a sort of Tomb, or *Kistvaen*, being inclosed and formed by them. An idea which Mr. Pegge,* has very fully shewn to have been adopted without any kind of sufficient authority; at the same time that he has, also, in his very curious Memoir, said more than enough to convince any reasonable person, that *Kit's Cotty House* could neither have been the Monument of Catigern, or of Horsa; nor of any person whatever.

It is now time to endeavour to investigate its real history; only first observing, that the author of the *Louthiana*,† as well as Dr. Borlase, has remarked, in like manner, that the *Cromleches*, in *Ireland*, have in general only *three* supporters; though indeed so far from being aware of the *firmness* arising from this circumstance, he considers them as being the most tottering of all Structures: which a little reflection on their vast antiquity, and long duration, might have convinced him they were not.

Pl. VIII. fig. 6. is a Plan of the whole Structure of *Kit's Cotty House*, with the respective dimensions of the several parts: from whence it appears manifest, on the very first glance, that there is *no regular Cell*, or *Kistvaen*, formed by these three stones at all; but that the third stone (c) is placed nearly in the midst, between the two others (a) and (b), as being the properest situation to support them, and to prevent their falling together; whilst their being placed leaning against it, and inclining towards each other, renders it almost impossible for them to be thrown down outwards, or so as to part from each other.

* *Archaeologia*, Vol. IV. p. 115.

† *Louthiana*, Book iii. p. 12.

This peculiar position of the middle stone, leaves indeed somewhat of the appearance of two little Cells, or Cabins, on either side; but neither of them are deep enough for to place therein the body of a man at length; for the one is only 4 feet 2 inches from the front; and the other only 2½ feet; and the supposition of a stone having been placed to close up the mouth of either Cell, would render the dimensions smaller, and still more confined.

But there is another circumstance, which much rather deserves attention, as being a very artificial designation in the Structure. And that is, that the two side stones (*a*) and (*b*) are placed so, as to draw nearer towards each other at the south-east end, than at the north-west; in consequence of which it becomes impossible to throw down the middle stone towards the *south-east*: whilst another circumstance in the Structure, namely, the dipping of the top stone towards the *north-west*, renders it impossible to throw down the middle stone *that way*.

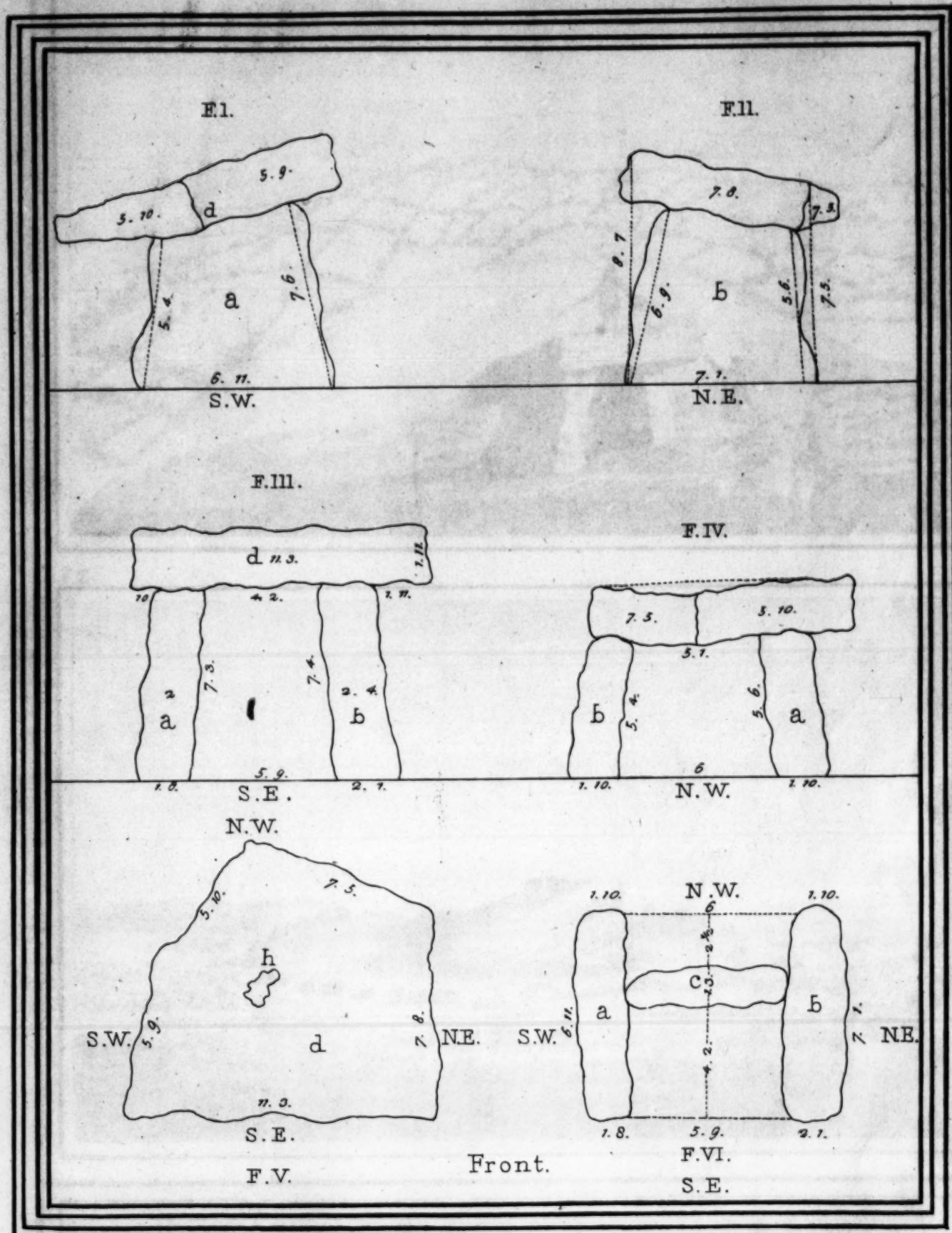
Fig. 1. represents the elevation of the Stone (*a*), with the superincumbent Stone (*d*) projecting over it, both ways, and dipping towards the north-west; and, at the same time shews the rough irregular corner, or point, at (*d*), projecting further than the rest. It shews also the measured dimensions of every part.

Fig. 2. represents the other supporting Stone (*b*), on the opposite side, seen on the external part (as also was the stone (*a*) just described). And here it cannot but demand the attention of every curious person, to observe how exceedingly different the proportions are of these stones, on which no tools *were lifted up*; but which nevertheless were so cautiously, and firmly put together.

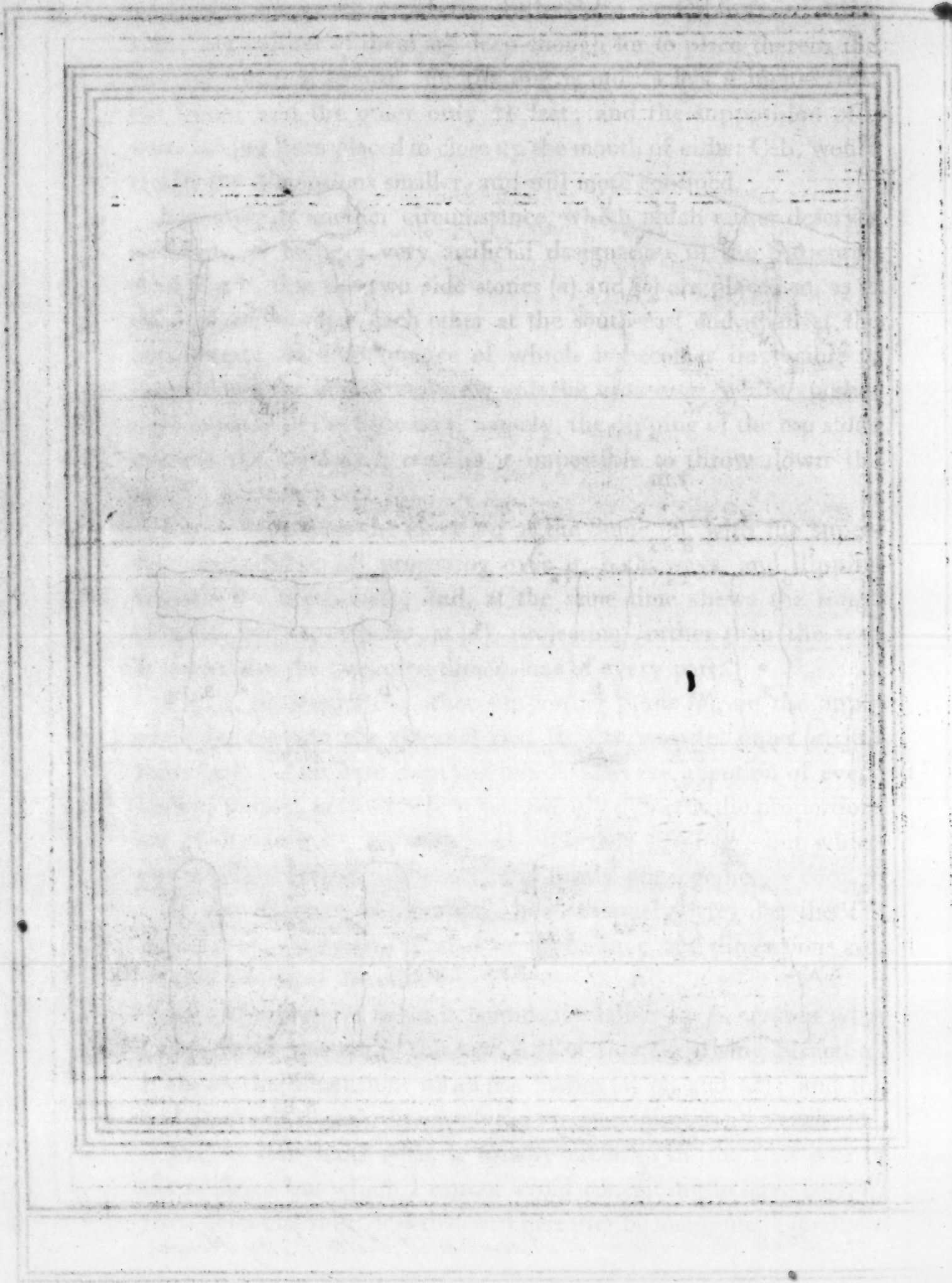
It also deserves observation, how strangely irregular the top stone (*d*) is; and how different its appearance, and dimensions are, on this side from the other.

Fig. 3. represents what is commonly called *the front*: but what I apprehend was really the *back part* of this surprising Structure. It shews the dimensions of all the Stones (*a*) (*b*) and (*d*); and the odd, irregular manner in which the top stone projects, on each side.

Fig. 4. represents what is usually taken to be the *back part* of the edifice; but which I cannot avoid conceiving to have been *its front*, from circumstances that will hereafter be mentioned; and also



Plan Elevation & Measures of Kitt's Cotty House.

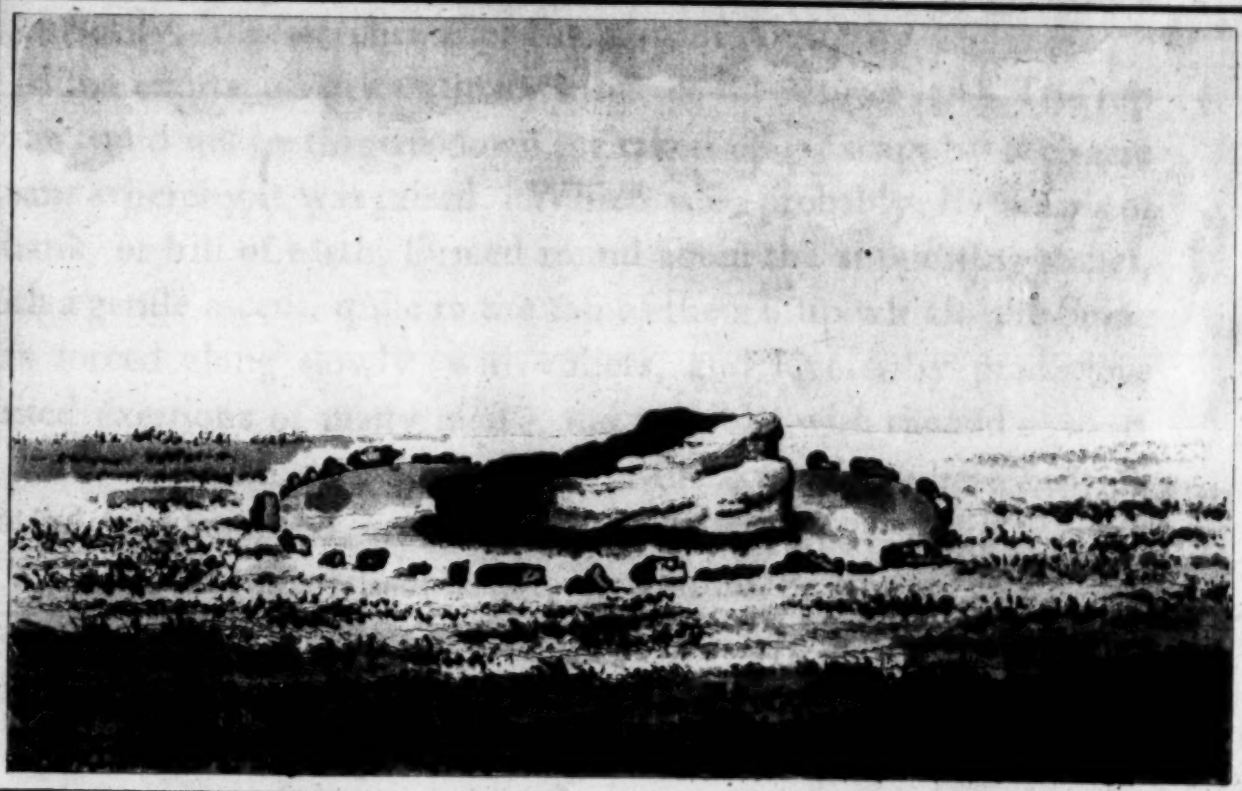


F.1.

Pl. IX.



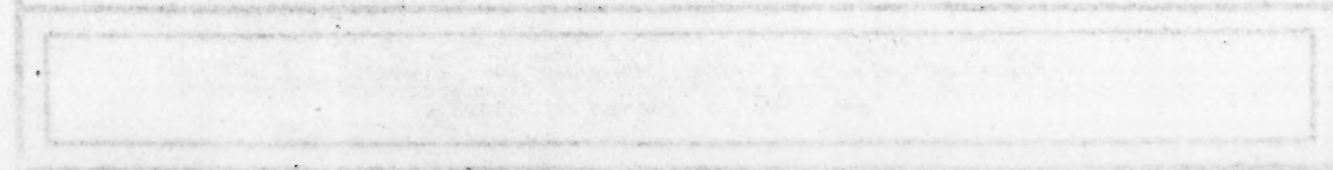
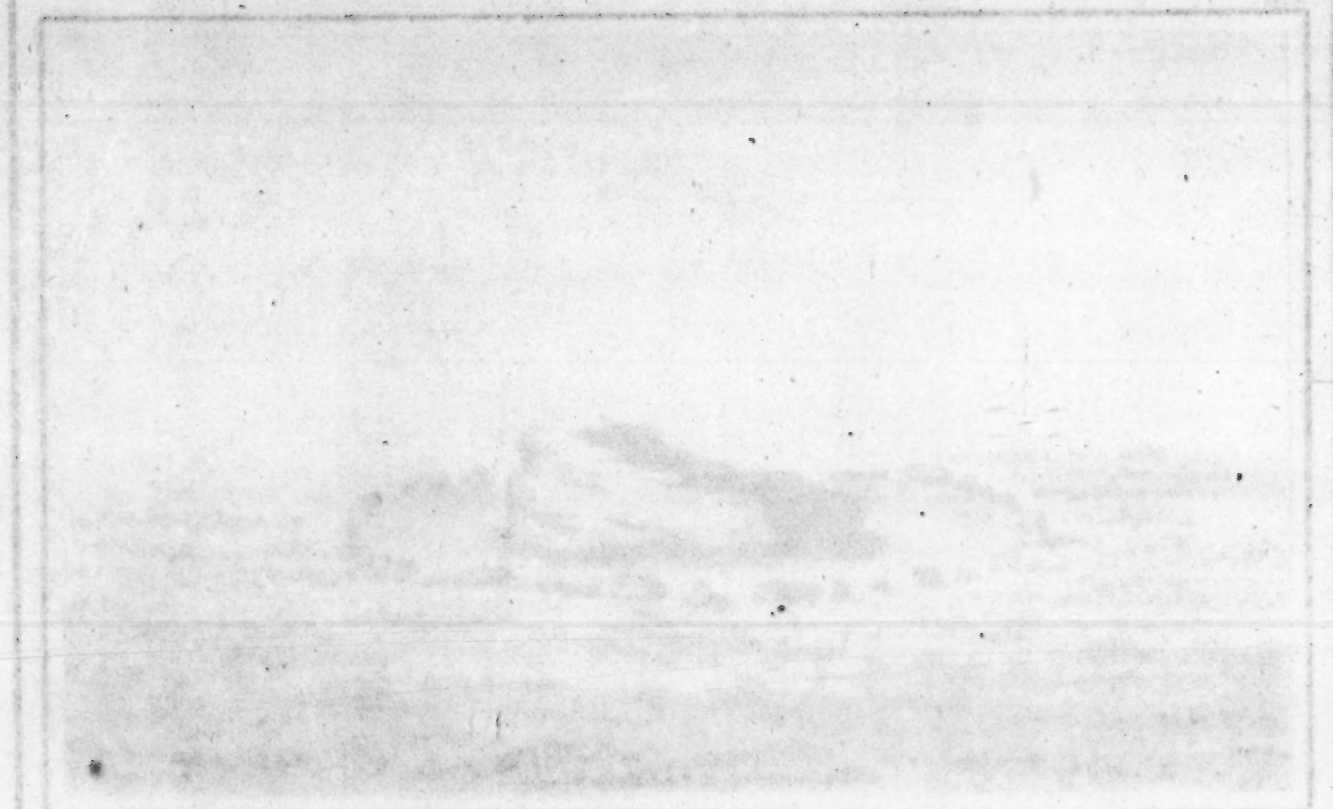
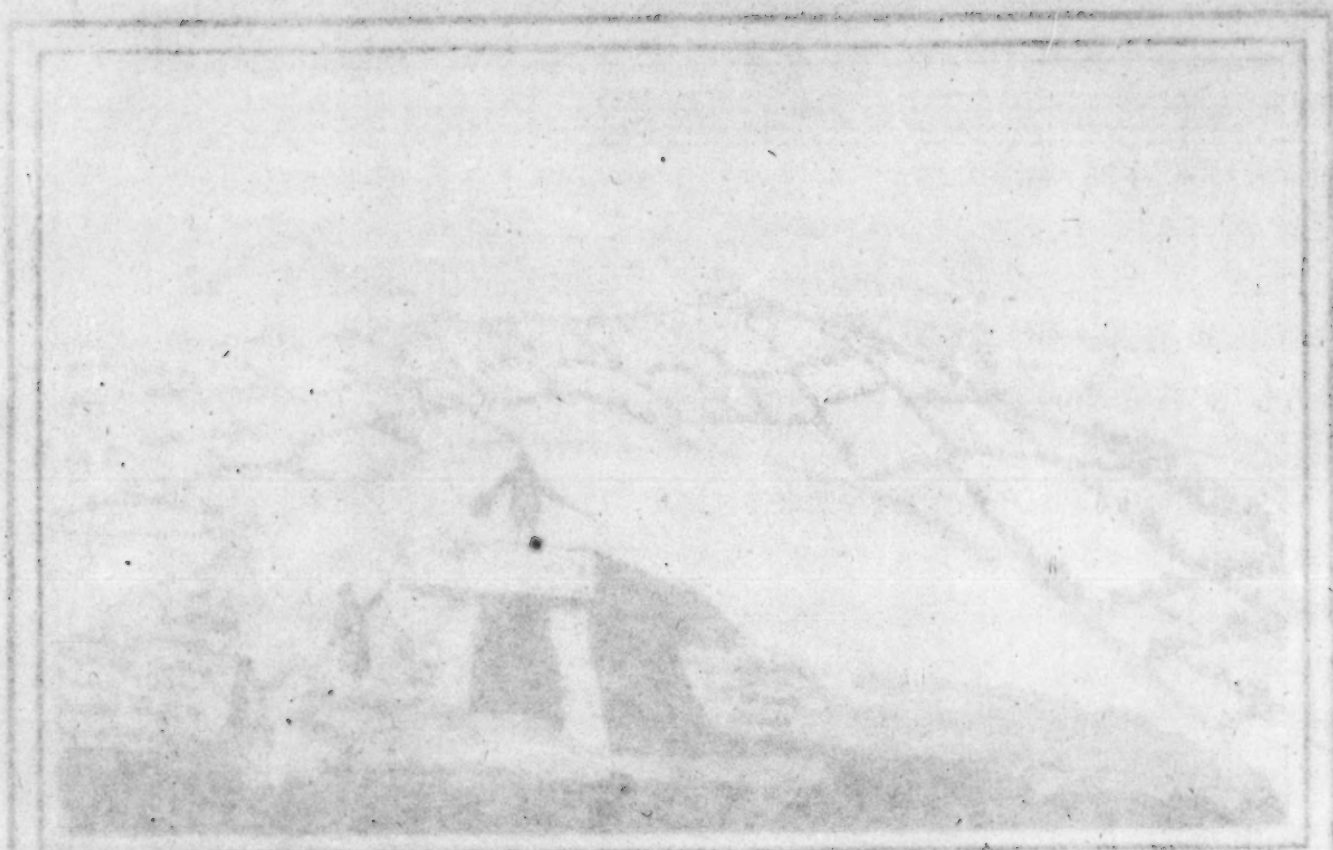
F.2.



*View of Kitt's Cotty House, in Kent. — & of
an Altar Stone in Sally.*

J.S. del.

J. Caldwell, sculp.



because, before this face of the edifice, towards the north-west, has been placed a great *Altar Stone*, on the ground, as at Stone Henge. Whilst the direction of the Structure, *if we consider this as the front*, is also nearly similar to the direction of that which is the front of the part destined to superstitious and solemn rites, at Stone Henge.

Fig. 5. shews the form, and dimensions, and relative situations of the several sides, as to the points of the compass, of the top stone. Only it must be remembered, that it dips from the south-east towards the north-west.

Now, put all these circumstances together; and we shall perceive the astonishing solidity of this Structure: which fully accounts for its having defied the ravages of time; and for its having remained entire, through such a vast period of successive ages, that all positive records and traditions concerning it being lost, it has become liable to misrepresentation from those hasty conjectures formed, when men first awakened, from the long deep sleep of ignorance and insensibility, to open their eyes, with some degree of curiosity, in researches after Remains of Antiquity.

What efforts, of any ordinary kind, could destroy it?—The top stone could not be thrown down, or taken off; except by the same means whereby it was raised. Which was, probably, by means of a bank, or hill of earth, formed round about the supporting stones, with a gentle ascent, quite to the top of them: up which, the Stone was forced along slowly, with rollers, and levers, by prodigious united exertions of many men; and possibly with the aid of oxen to draw it; when, being advanced to the spot, the whole hill, or mound, was removed, and taken away.

The middle stone (c) could not, nor cannot, be thrown down one way, because the dipping of the top stone prevents its vibration, or being turned on its edge into that direction.

Neither can it be thrown down the other way; because the side stones *nip in beyond it*, and approach nearer to each other towards the south-east, and by that means hold it up fast, and tight, that way.

The side stones (a) and (b) cannot be separated, and thrown down outwards; because being placed leaning *towards* each other, as appears most plainly in fig. 4. instead of being placed upright, as some of the old descriptions mention, their vast ponderosity, alone

would prevent their being easily heaved over. Whilst besides this, they could not be so heaved over, without raising up the whole weight of the immense superincumbent Stone.

Thus, therefore, this edifice has stood, and may yet stand, firm, throughout many generations, as several others of a similar kind have stood, in different parts of the world.—The objects of wonder *now*; because most happily, the motive for their being erected, and the detestable use to which they were originally destined, have both long since ceased to have any prevalence on the face of the earth.

The records of most antient history, however, and similar Remains in other parts of the world, together with a little degree of attention bestowed on some extraordinary customs, preserved by other barbarous people, long separated from those primæval Heathen nations, from whom both they, and the most antient Britons, were descended, may perhaps fling more than sufficient light upon this matter.

It will only be proper just to mention, before we enter upon this discussion, that Pl. IX. fig. 1. represents the present appearance of the Structure under consideration, with a distant view of a part of the magnificent surrounding theatre of hills. The front here shewn, being that towards the south-east, usually deemed the front; but which ought rather to be considered as the back part; and the place of the great Stone, or Altar for burning, on the ground, being therefore hidden beyond the building.

In the account, given by Diodorus, of the customs, and horrible superstitions of the antient Druids, in Gaul, who derived both their Science, and Superstition, merely from those in Britain, we read this strange description.*

“ Amongst the Druids, are Prophets (or Diviners), who are held
“ by them in the highest estimation. These men divine concern-
“ ing future events, both by means of augury, and by means of
“ sacrificing victims; and have the whole multitude subservient to
“ them.

“ And in a more particular manner, when they inquire concern-
“ ing any *great event*, they observe a most astonishing and incre-
“ dible Rite. For pouring out a libation upon a man, as a victim,

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. 213. p. 354. ed. Wesselingii.

“ they smite him with a sword upon the breast, in the part near
 “ the diaphragm ; and on his falling who has been thus smitten ;
 “ both from the manner of his falling, and from the convulsions of
 “ his limbs, and still more from the manner of the flowing of his
 “ blood, they presage what will come to pass ; firmly trusting in
 “ these conclusions, from an antient, and long established, Obser-
 “ vance.”

And Strabo relates this matter also ; in a manner, indeed, a little
 different ; but upon the whole to the same purport. For he says,*
 speaking of their savage custom of keeping by them the heads of
 their enemies.

“ The Romans have brought them off from these customs, and
 “ also from those which they had adhered to, with regard to sacri-
 “ ficing and divination. For smiting a man (who had previously
 “ had a libation poured upon him) with a sword upon the back,
 “ they divined from his convulsions.

“ They never sacrificed without the Druids.

“ And other sacrifices of men by them, are spoken of. For some
 “ they shoot with arrows ; and some they crucify ; *in the sacred*
 “ *places.*”

“ And (also) having formed a vast Colossus of straw, and casting
 “ wood upon this, they make an whole burnt sacrifice, of cattle,
 “ and of all manner of wild beasts, and of men.”

Cæsar says,† speaking of the Gauls, and of their Druids ; *after*
 having told us‡ *that the Rites and Discipline of the Druids were found*
originally in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul.

“ That those who were afflicted with any severe disease, or who
 “ were entered into battle, or were in danger, either sacrificed men
 “ as victims, or vowed that they would so sacrifice them : and they
 “ made use of *the Druids as ministers, or performers of those sacrifices.*
 “ Thinking that the immortal gods could not be rendered propi-
 “ tious, unless *the life of man*, was given for the life of man.

“ They have also *public sacrifices instituted* of the same kind.

“ And others, have images of a vast magnitude, the limbs and
 “ parts of which are formed of wicker work, and are filled with

* Strabo, lib. iv. 198. p. 303.

† De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. sect. 15.

‡ Ibid. sect. 12.

“ living men ; and being set on fire, the men are burnt to death by
 “ the surrounding flame. On these occasions they deem the punish-
 “ ment of such persons as are found to have been guilty of theft, or
 “ robbery, or of any other atrocious mischief, to be most grateful to
 “ the immortal gods : but when there are not enough of these, they
 “ proceed to inflict the same punishment on the innocent.”

Now, laying aside the consideration, of the Colossus of Straw, and Wicker work, and of the poor wretched victims destroyed in it ; (with which, on this occasion, we have no immediate concern ; but the description of which it would not have been right to have separated from the rest of these curious descriptions) ; and putting the other parts of these accounts fairly together, we shall perceive, that in the Observance of these horrid Rites and Ceremonies of the Gauls, derived from the Britains, there was,—*a sacred public spot for the horrid solemnity, fully ascertained and distinguished ;—that it was performed in the presence of multitudes ;—that therefore the poor victim must have been placed aloft, in a situation where he could be seen ;—that none but a Druid, or Druids, were on the same spot, to strike the fatal blow ;—that it must also have been such a kind of surface, and elevation, that the flowing of the blood might be traced ; as well as that the sad convulsions of the sufferer might be exposed to view ;—and that the dire ceremony was performed, by first pouring a libation on the head of the poor sufferer, and then striking him with a sword, either on the breast, or back.*

And considering that it is almost impossible to conceive there should be no Remains left of any spots destined for such dreadfully notorious solemnities, so much more remarkable above all others : when so many other *marked spots* still exist, that were used for superstitious Rites, even of much less, and of the most trifling importance ; we may venture to affirm, there is no kind of appearance that so perfectly corresponds with these dire relations, which we have from Cæsar, Diodorus, and Strabo, as that of *the inclined Cromlech* in general, wherever found ; and particularly as this Structure which we have been now examining, called *Kit's Cotty House*.

For here we find, in truth, a great Stone Scaffold, raised just high enough for such an horrid exhibition, and no higher : and just large enough, in all its proportions, for the purpose, and not too large :

and so contrived, as to render the whole visible to the greatest multitude of people; whilst it was so framed and put together, though superstitiously constructed only of unhewn stones, in imitation of purer, and more primæval usages, that no length of time, nor any common efforts of violence, could destroy it, or throw it down.

That front, which seems to have been placed with most superstitious care, in a direction somewhat resembling the front of others of their sacred places, and Stone Circles, and therefore made to face the north-west, has the top stone only about 6 or 7 feet from the ground, at most. Whilst the other end, is elevated between 8 or 9 feet from the ground: and by this means, the whole surface is placed in such a position, as to have exhibited fully, whatever was at any time placed upon it, to an immense multitude of people, even at the greatest imaginable distance. And yet, the declivity is not such as to occasion the least danger of any slipping, or sliding off.

The dimensions of this top stone also were very sufficient for the sad purpose; since it is about 11 feet, or more, in every direction; and had, therefore, space enough for the standing of one or two Druids; and for the victim, both before and after the fatal blow; from which the sloping of the stone upwards, would probably prevent his retreat, as well as the fetters that might be upon his legs.

And more especially will the surface of the stone appear to have been large enough for the dire purpose, if we consider, that the same horrid precautions might most probably have been in use here, which we find to have been observed by those savage tribes of Indians, in America, descended from the same common heathen ancestors; amongst whom the dreadful custom of sacrificing their prisoners remained still in use, within a very few years, if it is not still existing.

We find that in Mexico, on such occasions, the prisoners' feet were sometimes tied to a stone. And, amongst the Brasilians, the poor victim had a rope wound around his waist, the two ends of which were held tight, by two of the executioners, one standing on each side, whilst a third struck the fatal blow.*

There is further to be observed, on the surface of this great Upper

* See Picart's Religious Ceremonies, Vol. III. p. 137. Pl. LXXX. De Bry's History of Brasil, Pars iii. p. 125.

Stone of this Cromlech, a cavity, or *Rock bason*, probably designed to receive part of the blood, as it flowed down. This bason is of an irregular form, about 2 feet in length, and 11 inches, or one foot, in breadth; and extends in such a manner *under* the surface of the stone, that it will hold several quarts. It has almost always a quantity of rain water in it at present; and there are, besides this, many rude channels on the surface of the stone, which might be used to catch the flowing blood, whether they were originally formed by nature, or by art.

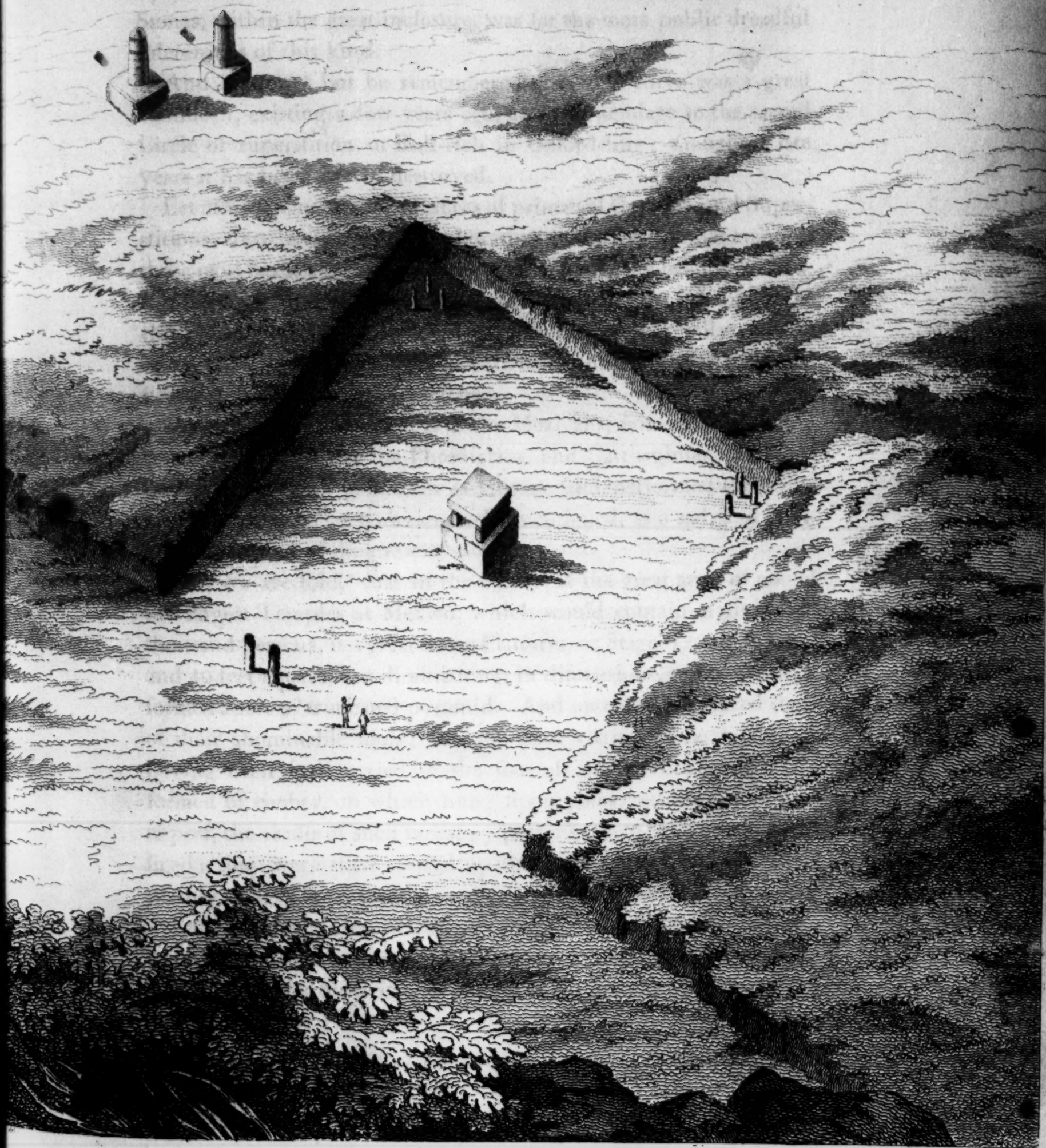
The situation of this bason, on the top of the stone, and the figure of the whole platform is shewn, Pl. VIII. fig. 5.

And in Pl. IX. fig. 1, is a View of the back front of this Structure, or huge Stone Scaffold, towards the south-east, which has, I think, most erroneously, usually been deemed its real front. I preferred, however, the giving this representation; both because it is the appearance most commonly attended to; and also, and still the rather, because it shews the *rising* of the hills in the front, and on the side of this Cromlech, from which hills, many thousands, and even myriads of people, might distinctly see all that passed upon the surface of the top stone.

Just beyond this Cromlech, and concealed by it, in this View, at the distance of about 70 paces, or the cast of a *coit*, lays on the ground, the great Stone, which was, as I apprehend, the *Altar for burning*; which stone is mentioned by Stowe, Colebrooke, and Grose.

It is about 11 feet in length, by 7 broad; just fit for such a purpose; but much too large to have been used to close up either end of the Cromlech. And as to any idea of its having once stood upright, I can perceive no more grounds for such a supposition, than for any conjecture that the black Stone Altar, at Stone Henge, was ever reared in a perpendicular position: which no one has ever imagined.

It cannot but have been remarked, by an attentive inquirer, that a *Cromlech*, with an *Altar Stone*, for burning, lying before it on the ground, existed at *Abury*; in the centre of one of the great double Circles. And that there was also a detached Cromlech (of which Dr. Stukeley saw the final destruction), standing near the end of one of the great avenues. Which latter was probably for the accom-



Syrian Altar

beings, and the world is a vast, unending
 sea of suffering. The heart is a
 vessel of pain, and the mind is a
 prison of sorrow. The world is a
 vast, unending sea of suffering.
 The heart is a vessel of pain, and
 the mind is a prison of sorrow.
 The world is a vast, unending sea
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 of pain, and the mind is a prison
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plishing of those more private vows of this horrid kind, mentioned by *Cæsar*; whilst the former, in the midst of one of the Circles of Stones, within the great inclosure, was for the more public dreadful solemnities of this kind.

And it cannot but be remembered also, that there was a great Cromlech, existing a few years ago, as an appendage to the sacred Circle of superstition, at Roll-rich in Oxfordshire; though of late years it has been utterly destroyed.

Let us now consider, what traces of primæval Customs, and Superstitions, are to be met with, corroborating these ideas; either amongst those most barbarous Indian nations, who have long been separated, at a distance, from those corrupt branches of the first inhabitants of this *present* globe of the earth, from whom they originally sprang: or amongst those more civilized nations of antiquity who remained nearer to the Patriarchal Residence.

As to the first; we find that the Mexicans, who most probably were descended from the Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, retained their horrible rites of human sacrifices; and performed them in a manner that may very obviously be mentioned, as a sad, and obvious, illustration of the present subject.

For, we are told,* that in the centre of the great area, of one of the largest Temples at Mexico, which would contain eight or ten thousand persons, is a great Stone Platform, or Stage, 120 steps high, and 40 feet square, but diminishing, in dimensions, upwards, till it formed a sort of truncated pyramid. And on this were placed some of their abominable idols; and the poor victims to be sacrificed, having been first carried to the foot of another artificial terrace formed of timber, on which hung upon poles, reaching from post to post, the skulls of such unhappy persons as had been before sacrificed; they were then carried up the great terrace; which seems plainly to have been merely an abominable and dreadful refinement upon the more antient *Cromlech*; when six of the priests slaughtered each victim in turn, in a shocking manner, tearing out their hearts, and then throwing the bodies down from the top of the terrace to the bottom.

* See Antonio de Solis's History of the Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I. p. 323. And Picart's Religious Ceremonies, Vol. III. p. 137.

On some particular occasions, the captive had his feet tied to a stone, and was allowed, as long as he could, to parry the instrument with which one of the priests struck at him.

And in other instances, the miserable captive was placed with his back on a sharp stone, about 5 feet high, and being there held, was ripped up by the dreadful tormentor.

Here surely we discover the very counterpart of the descriptions given by Strabo, of the Gaulish and British human sacrifices, even very lately existing, in horrid Rites practised by Indians, who had long lost all remembrance of their origin, but who were most probably descended, through Tyrians and Sidonians, (where such abominations, we are assured, had existed originally in their utmost extent of horror), from the same first heathen ancestors with the Celtes, and Britons.

The Mexican great Altar of Sacrifice, was a truncated Pyramid: and even in this country there seem to have been some constructed somewhat in the form of a truncated pyramid; of which there is a most remarkable instance mentioned by Rowland,* in a small one standing on the summit of an hillock, at Bodowyr in Anglesey; the upper stone of which, he says, is a detruncated pyramid, flat at top. Though it ought to be acknowledged, that the flat space, left at the top, in this instance, was too small for such dire use as we have been mentioning; unless more than ordinary precautions were used.

And if Ware's representation is to be depended upon, † such an one seems to have been placed at *Brenan's Town*, six or seven miles south of Dublin.

As we find such traces of the *Cromlech*, in the instance of the great Altar at Mexico, amongst those who may be believed to have been descendants of Phœnicians; so it is very remarkable, that the resemblance of it may be found existing, in the very country of the Phœnicians themselves; only with just so much introduction of the use of the iron tool, to add somewhat of ornament, as was consistent with the original plan of construction on the one hand; and with the ideas of magnificence, which the Tyrians and Sidonians had acquired, in the very first ages, on the other.

* *Mona Antiqua*, p. 92; and Pl. V. fig. 2.

† See Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 140. Pl. I. fig. 3.

This resemblance of the *Cromlech*, is on the Syrian coast ;—and is the very instance I alluded to, of traces of these customs existing amongst the more civilized nations of antiquity.—And its existence carries the more weight with it ; because the curious Traveller, who first gave us the full account of it, had manifestly no right idea of its real design and use himself, to occasion any bias in his description ; although his words are *such*, that when we have once become at all acquainted with these kind of Structures, it is impossible not to be struck instantly with the strong resemblance.

I shall therefore, the rather give the account in his own words.*

Describing the situation of the antient *Arphad* of Scripture ; the *Aradus* of the Greeks and Romans ; our most intelligent traveller, Maundrell, says, adding at the same time, that its inhabitants were famous for navigation, (and therefore, we may conclude, might very probably be the very ancestors of the Mexicans), that, “ the first Antiquity that we here observed, was a large Dike, 30 yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its sides went sloping down, with stairs formed out of the natural rock, descending gradually from the top to the bottom. This Dike stretched in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong, bearing still the same figure of stairs, running in right lines all along its sides. It broke off at last at a flat marshy ground, extending about two furlongs betwixt it and the sea. It is hard to imagine that the water ever flowed up thus high ; and harder (without supposing that) to resolve, for what reason all this pains of cutting the rock in such a fashion, was taken.

“ This Dike was on the north side of the *Serpent Fountain* ; and just on the other side of it, (that is plainly on the south side of the *Serpent Fountain*), we espied another *Antiquity*, which took up our next observation.

“ There was a Court of 55 yards (165 feet) square, cut in the natural rock ; the sides of the rock standing round it, about 3 yards high, supplying the place of walls. On three sides it was thus encompassed ; but, to the northward, it lay open. In the centre of this area, was a square part of the rock left standing ; being 3

* Maundrell's Travels, p. 20.

“ yards high, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards (or $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet) square. — This served for a
 “ pedestal to a *Throne* erected upon it.

“ THE THRONE was composed of four large Stones, two at the sides;
 “ one at the back, another hanging over all the top, IN THE MANNER OF
 “ A CANOPY. The whole Structure was about 20 feet high, fronting
 “ towards that side where the Court was open.
 “ The Stone that made the canopy was $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards square, (i. e. above
 “ 17 feet, or 17 feet 3 inches). And was carved round with an hand-
 “ some cornish.

“ What all this might be designed for, we could not imagine;
 “ unless, perhaps, the Court may pass for an idol Temple, and the
 “ pile in the middle for the throne of the idol: which seems the more
 “ probable, in regard that *Hercules*, the great abomination of the
 “ Phœnicians, was wont to be adored in an open temple.
 “ At the two innermost angles of the Court, and likewise on the
 “ open side, were left Pillars of the natural rock; three at each of
 “ the former, and two at the latter.”

Now, here we may plainly observe, in the first instance, that the
 idea of a *Throne* having been intended to be formed by the great
 stones, and that which overhangs in the manner of a canopy; has no
 more authority, nor any better support for it, than the idea of the
 stones at Kit's Cotty House having been put together, in the man-
 ner they are, merely to form a *Nich*, or *Cell*; or a *Kebla*, or *Kistvaen*;
 which the whole of the Structure shews to have been almost an im-
 possible design; and which idea has not the least countenance from
 any records of antient history, or from any well applied similarity
 of antient usages whatever.

And we may also observe, at the same time, that the words of
 the description, that the whole was composed of four large stones, two at
 the sides, one at the back, and another HANGING OVER ALL at the top,*

* All Maundrell's descriptions, the more they have been examined by subsequent
 travellers, are found to be minutely exact, and good; but the drawings, and engravings,
 designed to illustrate his account (for want of having had skill in drawing himself, or any
 able draughtsman to attend him), are known to be as bad. I have ventured, therefore, fol-
 lowing closely the words of his own description, to endeavour to represent, in a slight
 Etching, Pl. $\frac{12}{7}$, a little more fairly, what he seems to have intended to describe. Follow-
 ing, very nearly upon a regular scale, the proportions which he himself has given us, in his
 description; and the ideas which his own words fairly convey to our minds. And I can-

plainly lead us to understand, that *this* was indeed a *Cromlech*, or *Altar*, of nearly the very same form and kind, with that which we have been considering, in Kent. And these words so very nearly resembling those by which our own Antiquarians have so frequently, and so inaccurately, described Kit's Cotty House, lead us to suspect, that in this instance, in Syria, the stones may really be placed just as in the Remain we have been considering, in Kent; that is, two on the sides, leaning a little towards each other; one near the middle, transversely to support them; and one great stone on the top, in a position a little inclined or sloping, and hanging, or projecting, over the rest, on all sides: though the circumstance of the sloping of the top stone is not mentioned by Maundrell; and though, like our own Antiquarians, he might conceive the middle stone, from the deception of the appearance, to have been placed at the *back part* of the structure.

And if this be the case, then we have still remaining, in the country of the antient Phoenicians (which was the real original source of so many of the abominations that spread forth upon the face of the earth), a specimen of the very kind of *Altars* that were used (as Maundrell well observes, *in open temples*), for the horrid human sacrifices, that we know were introduced in the earliest ages, amongst the detestable Superstitions of the Tyrians, and Sidonians; and were, by the British and Gaulish descendants of corrupted Patriarchs, continued long in use, in these parts of Europe.

not but add, that the two Stone Pillars, like Towers, which he describes as seen at some distance; and which have most remarkable sepulchres annexed to them; may probably, on account of some celebrated persons there interred in the most antient ages, have had some connection with those horrid rites, that may have been here performed.

Pococke saw this same most extraordinary remain; and was well convinced of its high antiquity: but following Maundrell's idea, of a *cell*, or *throne*, he has rather perplexed than elucidated the account; by taking two projections of stone, for *seats* on each side, in the throne. Whilst indeed, the representation he has given does not well agree even with the words of his own description; and whilst he also evidently seems too hasty, in giving plans of *door cases*, in the Court, where Maundrell positively speaks only of plain stone pillars; and where even Pococke himself does not venture to affirm that he saw any thing else. The plans of the door cases, seem to have proceeded merely from the imaginations of Pococke's *Engravers here in England*. And as to the rest, he himself says, plainly enough, the *throne* consisted only of *four stones*;—and yet he has represented its inside, as if it consisted of many. See Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 203. Pl. XXX. fig. T.

The height and dimensions of the edifice very nearly correspond with those of the Structure in Kent: for the whole being about 20 feet high; and the piece of rock left for the base, being 3 yards, or 9 feet high: the Cromlech itself will be found to be only about 11 feet in height; whilst the platform, or top stone, was about 17 feet square; that is only a very little larger than Kit's Cotty House. And this top stone, having a sort of cornice carved round it, is only a proof of the addition of a small degree of art added, by the Tyrians, to these kind of structures; in the same manner as we find some degree of art was introduced here by the Britons, in a different instance, to form the tenons, and mortices, at Stone Henge; but the whole still, from Maundrell's plain description, clearly has the appearance of a *Cromlech*.

It cannot have escaped the notice of any curious person, comparing antiquities of a similar kind together, that here also is found a regular area, formed as a sort of Court, or sacred place, round the Cromlech; and also *rude stone pillars*, placed in certain order: all which bears an affinity with Druidical Remains.

The whole Court also was open towards the same point of the compass to which the front of the Altar was directed: and therefore open towards that remarkable range of Rock, *cut into regular terraces, or steps*, which Maundrell calls a large Dike; but which seems obviously to have been a range of terraces, like the benches, or risings of a theatre, designed to hold an immense number of spectators:—which might indeed have been used for a sort of *Circus*;—and from, and near which, all that passed on this horrid Cromlech might ever be clearly visible; just as the Cromlech called Kit's Cotty House, in Kent, is so placed, as to be exposed, in the fullest manner, to the view of numberless spectators, at any time, in any part of the magnificent adjacent amphitheatre of hills.

Having found, therefore, such a resemblance of the *Cromlech*, both in Phoenicia, and amongst those barbarous nations who we have reason to think were descended from the Phoenicians; though so long since removed to Mexico; and having seen what horrid rites still remained in use *there*, within a very few centuries; and knowing not only that the Britons were descended from the same common ancestors, but had, also, long intercourse with the Phoeni-

cians; we may now, in a more satisfactory manner, proceed to examine what other Remains of this kind exist; the works of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, who, as well as the Gauls, we are assured, by writers of the greatest authority, practised, in their fullest extent, such kind of abominations.

Besides the passages asserting the fact concerning these abominations, in the writings of Cæsar, Diodorus, and Strabo, we find Tacitus asserting, "*that the Britons held it right, to sacrifice, ON THEIR ALTARS, with the blood of their captives; and to consult the gods by the inspection of human (muscles; or) entrails.*"*

And it ought not to pass unnoticed, that our curious, indefatigable, home traveller, Mr. Pennant, at the same time that he seems too hastily to approve of Dr. Borlase's idea, that *these Cromleches* were not Altars;—because there was not room, upon them, for fires and surrounding *Druids*; nor was the sloping suited to the placing piles of wood *for fires*; (in which last particular I perfectly agree with him);—yet records a fact of great importance, as a useful testimony, on the present occasion;—for he says,† *almost all (THE CROMLECHES) which I have seen, have AN INCLINATION.*—Which plainly shews how well they were adapted to the dire auguring, and consulting, by the flowing of the blood, as mentioned by *Strabo*.

And at the same time, and in the same page, he mentions the famous Cromlech, called the *Pierre Levee*, near Poitiers in France, which will be hereafter more particularly mentioned; and which is at once a stupendous specimen‡ of this kind of Structure, existing, WHERE we have a right to expect to find such an one; that is, *in the country of the antient Gauls*; and has its whole form such, as is a confirmation of all that has been remarked.

But whilst I venture to say, that Mr. Pennant was too hasty in assenting to Dr. Borlase's idea, that *Cromleches were not Altars*; I ought, at the same time, to observe, that Borlase has himself, in this instance, even aided us to confute his own ideas. For (as Mr. Pegge has judiciously observed),§ it appears most plainly, on considering all that he has written, that he had, at last, in reality, *this very notion*

* Taciti Annales, lib. xiv. sect. 30.

† Braunii Civitat. v. 18.

+ Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 237.

§ Archaeologia, Vol. IV. p. 114.

of them himself, in part; and could not but acknowledge that they were Altars, in some instances.

Describing a vast rude stone, or mass of rock,* 19 feet long, *shelving on the top*, round which there is a circle of rude and unequal stones, and which has every appearance of having been a sort of mere *natural Cromlech*, requiring no other stones to support it; he has no scruple to pronounce this, at once, to have been really an *Altar*.

This extraordinary Remain is on the Island of Trescaw, amongst the Scilly Islands. And it is represented, Pl. IX. fig. 2, as a fit companion to the horrid Altar in Kent.

And it may be added that, the word *Cromlech*, in its very etymology, really implies a place of *superstitious devotion*, by means of sacrifice, and auspicy. For Rowland has, with much learning and judgment, observed,† that the antient word *Crom-lech*, by which so many of these structures are now, by tradition, known, is derived from *Cæræm-lech*; i. e. indeed from the Hebrew *מב ערם* (or *Cærem-luach*), a *devoted Stone*, or Altar.

Having produced such a confirmation of the existence of *shelving*, and *sloping* Altars, and of their designation for some sort of sacrifices, even from the acknowledgment of Borlase himself; there needs but little else to be added, for the illustration of this subject, than a simple detail of the plain accounts given of some few other *Cromleches*, that are to be met with in different parts. Only it ought not to be forgotten, that the horrible usage of human sacrifices continued amongst the Britons, even to the very time of the carnage and destruction of the Druids themselves, by Suetonius Paulinus, in the Isle of Anglesey.

Tacitus‡ has given us to understand, that, when the Romans approached, the Britons had great sacrificing fires near at hand; designed for human sacrifices; into which both they, and their Druids, were at last themselves thrown, by their conquerors. These fires are what we may conceive were generally lighted on the flat stones, lying on the ground, like that near Kit's Cotty House, and that at Stone Henge. The words of Tacitus are brief, but descriptive in a most characteristic manner.—*Inferunt signa, sternuntque*

* Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 200.

† In his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 47. 69.

‡ Annal. lib. xiv. sect. 50.

obvius, et igni suo involvunt. And with regard to the British Sacrifices, has been well applied, the nervous description; *Crepitantque preces, Altaria fumant*; alluding both to their *chattering* prayers; and to the wood of the fires of their Altars crackling; and smoking, with the horrid miserable burnings, of the bodies of men, women, and children.*

It is a most remarkable fact, that an instance existed of an human sacrifice, in the northern parts of this Island, even so late as about the year eight hundred and ninety-three.

For when *Einar*, Thane, or Earl of Caithness, had made captive *Haldanus*, Prince of Norway: with horrible solemnity a sacrifice was prepared; and *Haldanus*, the destined victim, was made an offering to *Odin*: and upon his remains a tumulus of stones was raised, to perpetuate the memory of the event.†

And consistently with this horrible account of this custom being so long continued, we find, that in the western parts of *Island*, or *Iceland*, in the province of *Thornesthing*, there was a Circle of Stone, where tradition has preserved the record that men were sacrificed, after they had been killed at a vast stone placed therein.‡

As to the instances of *Cromleches* still remaining;—we meet with them, in the first place, in the very spot where, of all others, we might most naturally expect to find them; and that is in the Isle of Anglesey itself.

At Plas Newydd, not far from the present ferry that forms one of the passes into Anglesey, is a vast double Cromlech; of which I have ventured to borrow a Representation, in the first place, from Mr. Pennant.§ Pl. X. fig. 1.

The upper, or higher part, consists of a vast stone, (according to Mr. Pennant's measures, and those mentioned by Mr. Gough), 12 feet 7 inches long; 12 broad; and 4 thick; supported apparently, some years ago, by five tall stones, near the upper end, but now only by three; one 5, the other 3, and the third 3½ feet high: || which

* See also *Mona Antiqua*, p. 96, 97, 98. † See the very curious extracts from Torfæus, published at the end of Cordiner's *Antiquities of Scotland*, sect. i. p. 131.

‡ Arngrim. ex Eyrbyggia, Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 27.

§ Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 237.

|| See, as to these facts, Gough's *Camden*, Vol. II. p. 569.

were, most probably, its only original supports, the rest being, *here*, as in other instances, merely appendant ornaments, and therefore easily thrown down. The lower part of this double *Cromlech*, consists of another great stone, barely separated from the first; which is nearly a square, of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or almost 6 feet; and is supported in like manner by three stones, (one, that for some time formed the appearance of a fourth, being now thrown down).*

Mr. Pennant, on his mention of this curious Remain, adopts, (as has been just mentioned), Dr. Borlase's idea of *Cromleches* being *Kistvaens*, or mere *Cells* for interment. But it is very remarkable, that (as it were in full confutation of his own, and Borlase's conclusion), he immediately proceeds to describe† an exceeding large *Carnedde*, (which indeed was manifestly a sepulchre, or burying place), just by the spot; which he most unaccountably conceives to have been a prison, for confining prisoners *for sacrifice*: retaining strangely some idea of the real use of the *Cromlech*, whilst he both falls into Dr. Borlase's unfortunate error; and more strangely mistakes a deep buried sepulchre, for a prison for living condemned captives.

Rowland says‡ the *Carnedde*, near this *Cromlech*, is one of the largest *Carneddes* in the Isle of Anglesey: in his time hardly to be discerned and distinguished from a mount of earth; the *stones* being overgrown with earth, and moss; and great trees growing thick upon it. And that it stands in a dry bottom; and without any pillars now standing by it.

Since Rowland's time, on its being opened, there has been found, underneath, a *Cell*, about 7 feet long, and 3 wide, covered with two flat stones, and lined with others: and much more truly resembling a *Kistvaen*, than the cavity under the *Cromlech* could; and indeed much fitter for a tomb, than for a prison.

And truly that *Carneddes*, or great and high heap of stones, so called, did really cover *Tombs*, we have a strong proof, from what

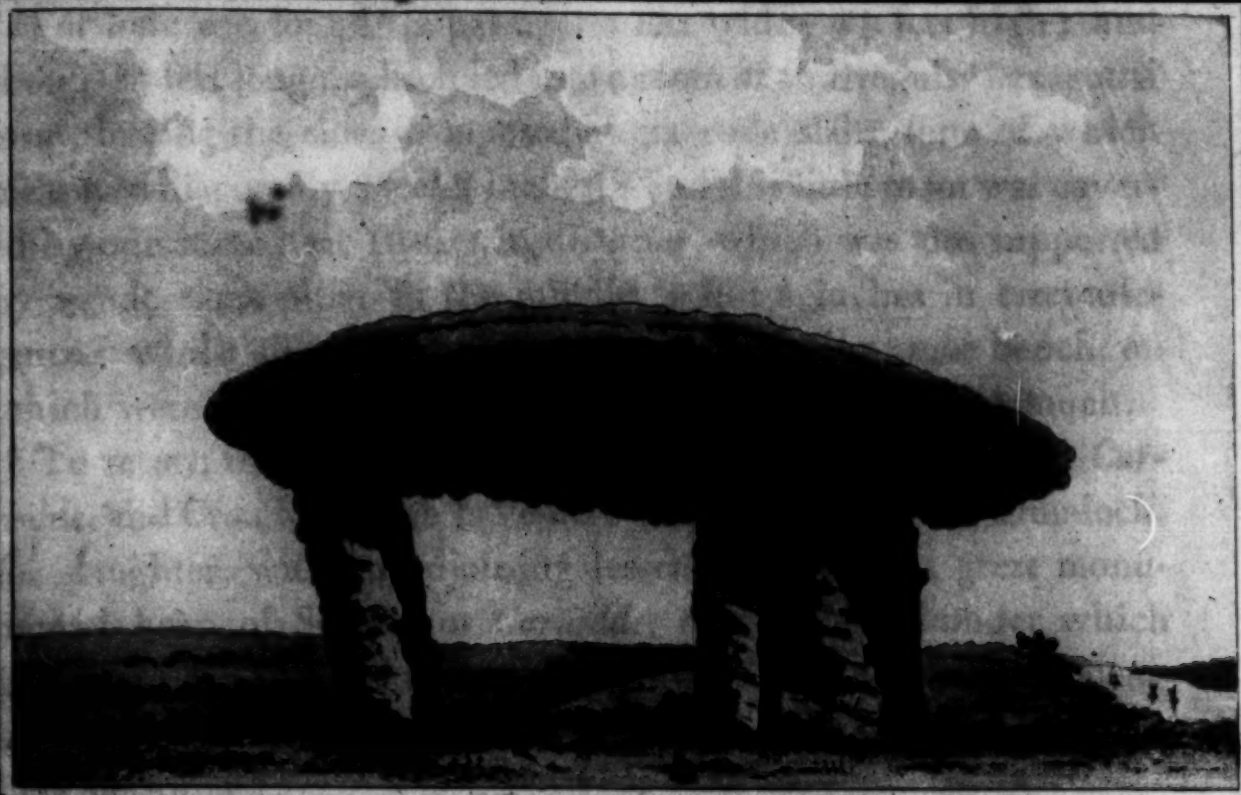
* There is an imperfect representation, and description of it, given by Rowland, in the *Mona Antiqua*, p. 93. 99. The measures there mentioned seem, however, to be very inaccurate. But indeed the great inequalities in the height of the several stones, from the inequalities of their position, and of the under surface of the incumbent stone, may easily occasion mistakes.

† *Tour in Wales*, Vol. II. p. 238.

‡ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 93.

F.II.

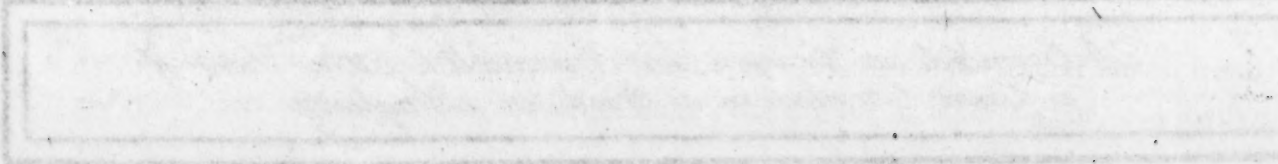
PL.X.



F.I.



*A Cromlech at Lanyon, in Cornwall. — & a View of
a Great Cromlech in a Wood, in Anglesey.*



appeared on opening another large one in the Isle of Anglesey, not very far from this very spot.

For here was found* a passage, 3 feet wide; $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; and about $19\frac{1}{4}$ feet long; which led into a room of an irregular hexagonal form, having the sides composed of six rude slabs, (one of which measured diagonally 8 feet 9 inches); and this little room was covered by one stone near 10 feet in diameter, which was also supported by a rude stone pillar in the middle, 4 feet 8 inches in circumference; whilst all round the sides of the room was a stone bench, on which were found *human bones*, that fell to dust almost at a touch.

To return therefore to the fair consideration of our original *Carnedde*, and Cromlech; we have here obviously, the great Cromlech, for slaughter, with an adjoining lesser Altar; and a great monumental heap of Stones, or *Carnedde*, near at hand, under which was some remarkable interment, designed to be kept in remembrance; and originally perhaps connected with some dire sacrifice here performed.

And indeed, thus far we may fully accede to Dr. Borlase's idea, as to allow, that though *Cromleches* were not, as he supposes, themselves actual Sepulchres; or mere monumental Structures; yet that, both in this instance, and in many others, they were often originally connected closely with places of Sepulture. Because it is well known, that in antient times, amongst the Druids, as well as in the East, horrible human sacrifices, such as might be offered on these Cromleches, were performed at the barrows, and graves, of great Chieftains.

In Pl. $\frac{x}{7}$ is given another View of this great Cromlech, at Plâs-Newydd, as seen on the other side, whilst all the five supporting stones, near the upper end, were standing.+

And for the more perfect explanation of the nature of this double Cromlech, I have obtained more exact dimensions of all the parts, than could be had before; which are here given: whilst the outlines of the Stones are also annexed in Pl. $\frac{x}{5}$.

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 570. Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 262.

+ With this very curious and explanatory Representation, as also with the measures of the several parts, I was furnished by Paul Panton, Esq. a gentleman most accurate in his investigations, and of much erudition, who lives not far from the spot.

A. shews the form of the top stone of the larger part of the Cromlech, at Plâs-newydd; and its dimensions across, in different parts. From whence it appears, that it is 12 feet 9 inches long; and 13 feet 2 inches broad, in the broadest part: whilst its greatest depth, or thickness, is 5 feet.—Its contents, therefore, in cubic feet, and decimal parts, cannot be less than 392,878,125.—And as the specific gravity of one cubic inch of this stone is as 1.6, in avoirdupois ounces, it follows, that the weight of this mass must be no less than 30 tons, 7 hundreds, and 4 pounds.

The two following sets of numbers, shew both the breadths, and the depth, or thickness, in different parts:

Breadth.		Depth or Thickness.	
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
13	2	5	7
11	9	4	5
11	4	3	0
10	3	3	6

And indeed, though we may fully accede to Mr. Gougeon's idea, as to allow, that though Cromlechs were not, as he supposes, themselves actual sepulchres; or more monumental structures; yet that both in this instance, and in many others, they were often originally connected with some religious or domestic purpose, and were here performed.

The other figures, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, shew the outlines of the four stones that support the North end.—And their dimensions are as follows:

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
Length	5	0	5	6
Breadth	4	8	5	0
Thickness	1	8	6	0

And the figures No. 5, and 6, shew the outlines of the supporters of the South end; one of which, No. 6, at present lies lengthways, on the ground:

	No. 5.	No. 6.
	Ft.	In.
Length	4	10
Breadth	3	9
Thickness	2	0

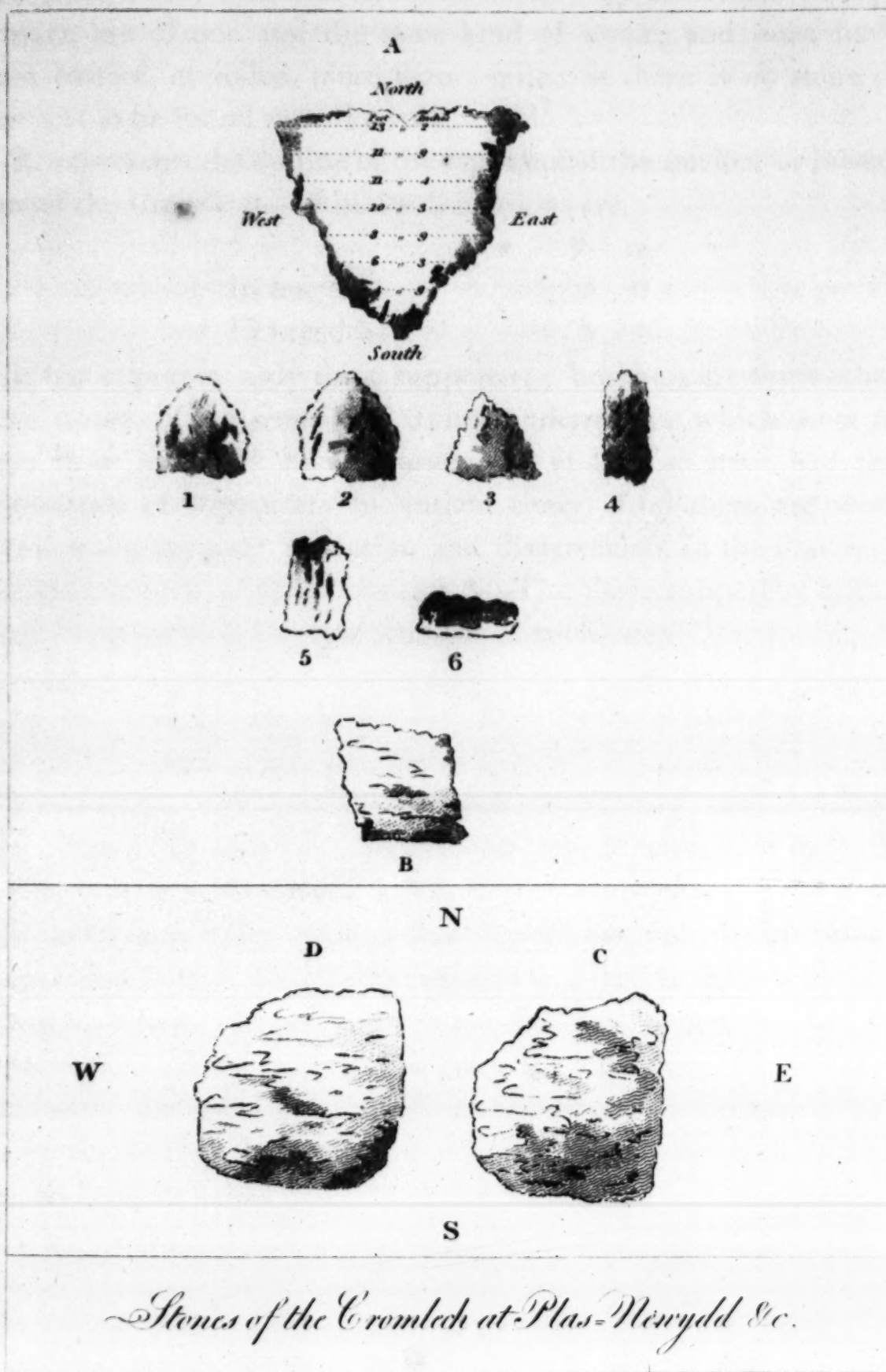


Cromlech at Plas: Nerydd in Anglsey;

Published 1845 by J. H. W. sculp.

and for that reason, it is not possible to
make a general statement about the
state of the world. It is a very
complex and changing situation, and
it is not possible to make a general
statement about it. It is a very
complex and changing situation, and
it is not possible to make a general
statement about it.





And it is very remarkable, that both this top stone, and its supporters, are of one and the same kind of stone; and must have been carried, or rolled, more than a mile; as there is no stone of that sort to be found near the spot.

B. represents the outline of the top stone of the smaller, or lower, part of the Cromlech.—And its dimensions are,

	Ft.	In.
In length, - - -	6	0
In breadth, - - -	5	7

It has at present only three supporters; but there are three other large stones, of the same kind, lying underneath; which seem to have been intended for supporters; or at least to have had the appearance of supporters in antient time. And these are what occasion the apparent confusion and disagreement in the drawings and descriptions of this Cromlech.*—The three supporters of the lesser Stone, which are now standing as such, are,

	Ft.	In.
In length, about - - -	4	4
And in breadth, about - - -	3	0

Another double Cromlech, not less extraordinary, near an house called *Trevor*, about two miles and a half from *Beaumaris*, in the road to *Plasgwyn*, is represented Pl. XI.

This Remain fully conveys that marvellous idea of stupendous danger, and horror, which was ever in the minds of those wretched Gentiles, whose corrupt superstition destined human victims to appease their false deities, and to grace the obsequies of their fierce Chieftains. The only material difference between this Cromlech, and the former, is, that the second, or inferior Altar is placed a little further off from its lower end;† and that its top is somewhat gibbose.

* It cannot but be remembered that Mr. Pennant, who is so generally accurate, describes the larger stone as supported by five stones; and the smaller one as supported by four;—whilst Rowland represents only three supporters to each stone;—and Mr. Gough says of the great one, *it rested on five stones, but one being detached, and another thrown down, four only bear its weight at present*; which leaves us in suspense whether there were five, or even six supporters to the great Stone. See Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, Vol. II. p. 237. *Mona Antiqua*, p. 93 and 99. Gough's *Camden*, Vol. II. p. 568, 569.

† I was favoured with this curious Drawing also, and the dimensions of the whole, from Mr. Panton, whose house is at Plasgwyn.

This latter circumstance, however, is a peculiarity of some of the Cromleches, which may be suspected to have been rather of the later ages; and is so conspicuous in one called the *Giants' Coit*, in Cornwall, as to render it exceeding difficult for any one to stand upon it at all. On which account Mr. *Maton*, who describes it,* was led to adopt Dr. Borlase's idea of all Cromleches being mere Sepulchres.

Of the double Cromlech, near Plasgwyn; C and D, Pl. $\frac{x}{7}$, mark the outlines, on a larger scale, of the two top stones; as far as outlines can be marked of such irregular masses. And their dimensions are as follows:

		C.	D.
		Ft. In.	Ft. In.
Length	-	7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 6
Mean Breadth	-	7 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0
Thickness	-	2 4	1 6

And the dimensions of the supporters of these Stones, of which that marked (C) has four in number, are

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.
Length	7 2	7 0	5 5	4 8
Breadth	5 6	3 3	3 6	4 0
Thickness	1 0	2 0	0 8	1 2

And the supporters of that marked (D), of which two only now remain, though it is supposed there were others, that have been carried away; are in dimensions,

	No. 1.	No. 2.
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.
Length	7 0	5 6
Breadth	4 0	6 0
Thickness	1 0	1 0

In the same Island of Anglesey also, we have another very

* *Maton's Observations on the Western Counties*, Vol. I. p. 225. He was led also to form the same conclusion, because no steps to ascend any of them appear, any where, to remain. But this can be no objection at all; as we have full reason to believe that the antient Gentiles used ladders merely for their Altars; since there is a most express prohibition of such usage, in the Divine Law of Moses, in words attended with circumstances that could relate only to a ladder. Exodus, chap. xx. ver. 26.

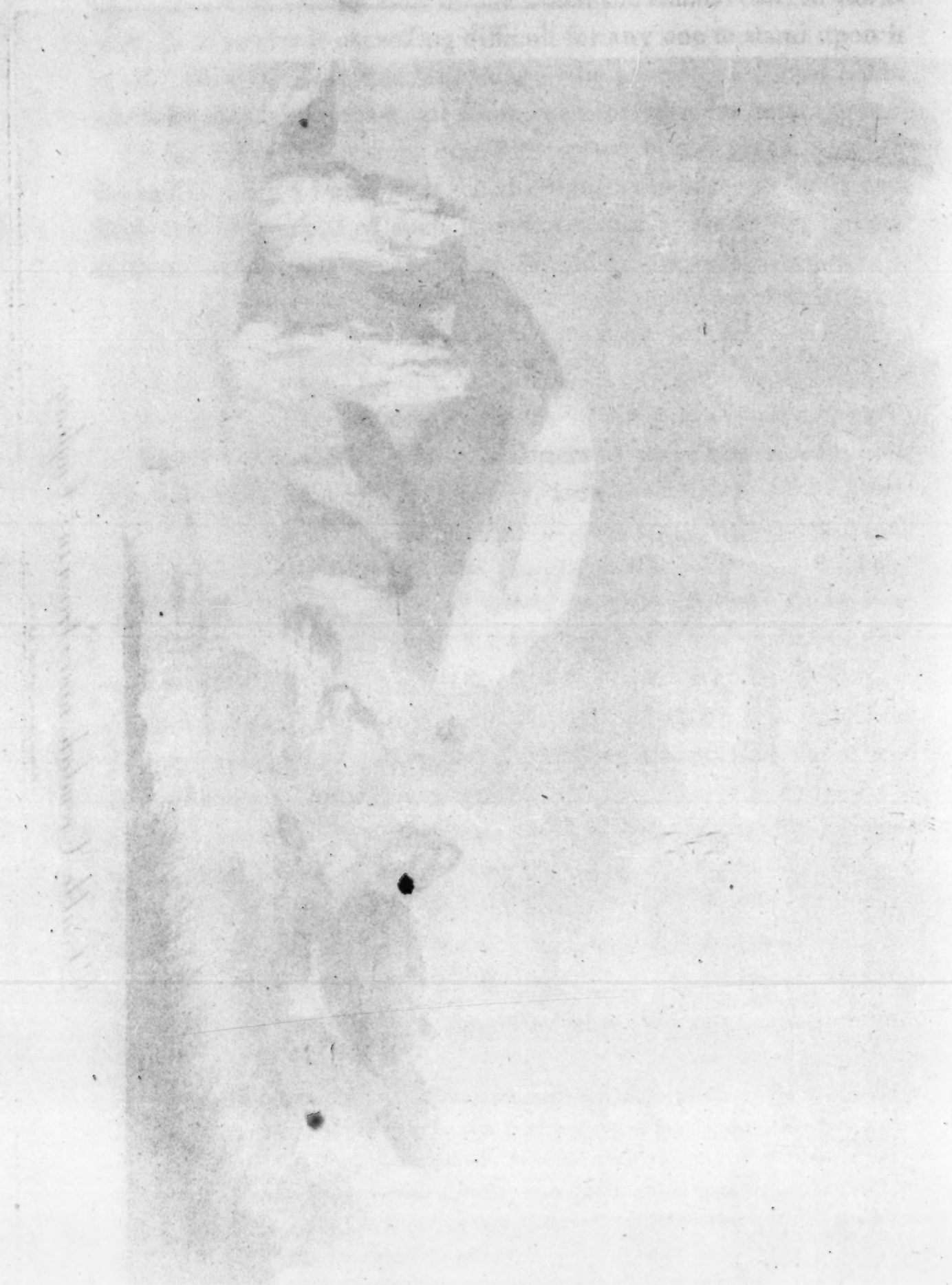
+ I have given all these measures arranged exactly as they were given to me.



Double Cromlech, near Trowen, Anglesey.

Published by G. W. Jones, 1841.

...however, is a peculiarity of some of the
...rather of the later
...the Giant, Cal. in form
...any one to show upon it



Handwritten text, possibly a title or description, oriented vertically along the left side of the illustration.

remarkable double Cromlech; which seems to have escaped the notice of the curious Rowland. It is in the parish of Boddedern, in the second field opposite the ninth milestone from Holyhead.* The larger stone is about 10 feet by 8, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick; apparently resting on four stones, the highest whereof is 5 feet. The smaller stone, which formed the second, or lower part of the Cromlech, stood on three stones, and was about 9 feet square, but is now thrown down.

There are also remains of a double Cromlech, on the hill overlooking Holyhead.†

And Rowland mentions remains of not less than six other Cromleches,‡ in the same island; one of which, was also clearly a double one.

We find therefore even still, dire traces of the barbarous customs of the Druids in Anglesey, their last established residence, numerous enough to convince us, that if indeed their sacrificing fires, on the landing of the Romans, appeared to be so *many*; there might also have been as many of these kind of *adjacent* Altars, or scaffolds, destined for the slaughter of their victims.§

* See Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 572.

† Ibid. p. 571.

‡ Mona Antiqua, p. 92, 93.

§ I cannot but just remark, on this occasion, that when *Germanicus* approached the hideous spot in Germany, where *Varus* and his army had been destroyed; they saw the skulls of men placed on the trunks of trees: and in the adjacent groves, the *savage Altars*, where, of the Tribunes and principal Centurions, the Barbarians had made an horrible immolation.

"Truncis arborum antefixa ora; lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos, ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant." ||

So similar were the customs of all these countries; which were, in those days, deemed the barbarous parts of Europe. Where were retained, in a corrupted state, primæval usages; to which had been added every kind of cruelty, and abomination, that savage ferocity could, in the course of time, engraft upon observances that had even previously been perverted by ignorance and superstition.

And as sacred Groves and Altars are here mentioned as existing in Germany; so it is well known that Groves of Oak were a remarkable appendage to many of the Druidical Altars, and sacred spots, in Britain.

The Oaks, indeed, belonging to most of these sacred places, are now all hewn down. But such Groves we know, from the testimony of many historians, did once exist. And

|| Taciti Annalium, lib. i. sec. 61.

We also meet with such Remains in other parts of Wales; where we might fairly most readily expect they should the rather exist; because it was the last and safest retreat of the Britons. And indeed the existence of such Remains here, is a strong proof, amongst others, that they were undoubtedly Structures of British origin, and not raised (as has been sometimes supposed), by the *Danes*; because, in truth, the Danes never reached these parts at all, any more than they did the Highlands of Scotland; where similar edifices are also

Rowland+ has very clearly shewn, that the reverence for them was derived from an imitation of the most antient sacred ideas; though most grossly corrupted. For some of the first sacred places on record, were Groves of Oak, or other thick trees.—Amidst such Almighty God himself appeared to Adam, and to the Patriarchs;—there Angels were entertained;—there Covenants were formed;—and there Oblations, and Sacrifices, were offered.

The veneration, however, which the consideration of these circumstances had first occasioned, soon carried the abuse of the idea, concerning the sacredness of Groves, to such an excess; that at last, in abhorrence of that abuse, a Divine Command was even given, not to plant *any* Grove at all near the Temple, or Altar, of the only true God.

The name also, as well as the thing, became, in time, horribly perverted; insomuch that one of the most serious objects of reformation, to the religious Kings of Israel, and Judah, was to destroy those appendages to idolatrous worship, which were *called Groves*; although it now does most plainly appear, that *such Groves* (notwithstanding the affinity of the word both in antient, and modern language) could not be *Groves of Trees*.

We read† of a *Grove* (τὸ ἄλσος), which Josiah brought out from the house of the Lord, unto the brook Kidron, and burnt it at the brook Kidron, and stamp'd it small to powder.

We read also of the *setting up of Groves*; spoken of in exactly the same words as the *setting up of idols*.§

And again of the *making of Groves*, as an artificial work; just as the making of idols is spoken of.||

Ahab, it is said, *made a Grove*.**

And we are told++ the Israelites set them up images, and *Groves*, under every green tree, which surely distinguishes such *groves*, from any plantation; and shews them to have been *carved works*, as much as the images to which they belonged.

And indeed, from the *expedition*, and *silence*, with which *Gideon* is recorded, in the book of Judges, †† to have cut down the Grove that was by the Altar of Baal, as well as to have thrown down the Altar itself (which probably was of stone, somewhat like those at *Stone Henge*); and from the wood of the Grove being not more than sufficient to afford wood for one sacrifice; and from its being *dried wood*, fit for such a purpose, we may form just the same conclusion.

+ Mona Antiqua, p. 56. † 2 Kings, chap. xxiii. ver. 6. § 2 Chronicles, chap. xxxiii. ver. 19. || Ibid. chap. xxxiii. ver. 3. ** 1 Kings, chap. xvi. ver. 33. ++ 2 Kings, chap. xvii. ver. 10. †† Judges, chap. vi. ver. 25, 26, 27, 28.

met with, and are called, even at present, *Chapels*, and *Temples*:* and what is more remarkable still, are sometimes denominated by a rude phrase in the language of the country, which signifies *a throne*; *an Oracle*; or *place of Address*;†—just as Maundrell was led, and, probably, somewhat by the language of his interpreters in Syria, to call the *Cromlech*, he there saw on the coast, not far from *Tyre*, a *Throne*.

In Merionethshire, between *Barmouth* and *Harlech*,‡ (in which latter place, tradition says a British Chief resided,§ in an old square tower, even to the latest times of their maintaining their independance); and at no great distance from *Cader Idris*, and very near to two antient British fortresses, called *Castell Dinas Cortin*, and *Castell Craig y Dinas*, there stands, on a vast *Carnedde*, or heap of loose stones, which is 55 feet long, and 12 high, a great double *Cromlech* Altar, at the east end; which is composed of two sloping stones, one placed over the edge of the other, upon five flat upright Stones, 7 feet high in one part, and 4 feet 10 in the lowest. And about 8 yards from this is found, lying flat on the *Carnedde*, without the appearance of any support, another great flat stone that looks like the upper stone of a *Cromlech*. We have therefore here, a *Cromlech* raised on a great mound, or *terrace*; which shews no small analogy between it, and the one described by Maundrell near *Tyre*; and have also a large flat Stone near adjacent, fit for a fire hearth, or *Altar for burning*, as at *Kit's Cotty House*, and at *Stone Henge*, placed on the ground:—and here, as at *Kit's Cotty House*, placed to the westward.

Eleven yards further, is another great heap of Stones; having also a larger *Cromlech* supported with upright Stones, which is now converted into a retreat for a shepherd. And a little further on was still another vast *Cromlech*, whose incumbent stone was 12 feet by 9. And about half a mile from this spot, are two remarkable *Druid Circles*, one of which has the upright stones placed in pairs. All of which circumstances put together, plainly shew the original entirely superstitious designation of this place; and that there were

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 521.

† See some curious observations of Dr. Garden's, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. I. p. 315.

‡ Pennant's Journey to Snowdon, p. 111. 120.

§ See also *Mona Antiqua*, p. 148.

here, on certain occasions, more than one horrid fire, as well as in *Anglesey*, when the Romans brought the final vengeance on the whole Druidical race.

At no great distance from this spot also, in a place called *Bryn-y-Voel*, is another great *Cromlech*; the upper stone of which is 16 feet 4 inches long,* and 7 feet 4 broad, and near 2 feet thick, which is placed only 2 feet above the ground, supported by small stones, and is (like the *rock Cromlech* mentioned in *Cornwall*), surrounded with a Circle of loose stones.

In *Caernarvonshire* again, not far from *Penmaen Mawr*, on the top of which mountain is a most celebrated and antient British fortress, we find, in the neighbourhood of several British Circles of Stones, remains of a *Cromlech*; which seems to have stood, like that at *Abury*, in the centre of one of the Circles. And at about the distance of a quarter of a mile is a large *Carnedde*†

In the same county also, near *Ystymkied*, are three more *Cromleches*, joining to each other; which Mr. Pennant supposed might be Memorials of three Chieftains slain on the spot;‡ though the neighbourhood of a great Druidical Circle of thirty-eight Stones, on *Bwlch Craigwen*, near *Glenenney*, seems much more strongly to indicate that they were, in reality, *appendant Altars*, like those in *Anglesey*, and *Merionethshire*.

In short, the whole Principality of Wales, where the Welch had their last retreat, does, by the remains of its antiquities, speak one uniform language in this point.

In *Pembrokeshire*, near *Pentre Evan*, in the parish of *Nevern*, in the midst of a great Circle of Stones, 50 feet in diameter, is a vast *Cromlech*, consisting of an upper stone, 18 feet long, and 9 broad, and 3 feet thick, supported by three large rude stones, about 8 feet high, with five other apparent supporters, *which do not at all contribute to its support*; and near it lies on the ground, another mass of the same kind of stone, being a great slab, or sort of Altar, as it were for fire, 10 feet long, and 5 broad; which some persons have supposed to have been broken off from the other. §

* Pennant's Journey to Snowdon, p. 112.

† Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 308. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 139.

§ Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 521.

So in Brecknockshire, on the top of an hill, in the parish of Llan-Hammwich, is a Cromlech composed of four large flattish rude stones; three of them pitched in the ground, and the fourth laid on them as a cover, forming a cell, open in front, about 8 feet long, and 4 wide, and high.*

This seems to have been very nearly such a sort of edifice as *Kit's Cotty House*. But having some rude marks, and cross lines, cut on the side stones; if those marks were not merely the rustic cuttings of idle persons at various times, they seem to indicate (like the *tenons* on the supporters at *Stone Henge*, and like the *Cornich* on the Cromlech, in *Syria*), that this Cromlech, in Brecknockshire, was reared in the ages when Druidism was wearing out.

In Cardiganshire, the well known remain called the *Giantess's Stone*,† is a vast mass, apparently supported by four other stones, about 5 or 6 feet high; besides which, it has two more pitched on end like supporters, though too low to bear any of the weight, as is most probably the case with the fourth stone. It stands on a small eminence, in a plain open field; and at a little distance are two, or more, large stones lying on the ground, one of which might serve for the fire hearth. Whilst, at some distance, is a sort of stone of Memorial,‡

There is also in Cardiganshire,§ in the parish of *Llan Goedmor*, a vast rude stone, 8 or 9 yards in circumference, and at least half a yard thick, placed in a reclining position; one side on the ground, and the other supported by a stone about 3 feet high; which seems therefore, in its appearance, to have some resemblance to that which Borlase calls the *Altar Stone* at *Trescaw*, in *Scilly*.

Not far from this is another smaller, of the same kind; and also a *Circle of Stones*; and five small *Kistvaens* uncovered, scarce 2 feet long, formed of rude stones pitched in the ground. And about 6 yards from it lies a stone on the ground, which might serve for the fire; and there is also another lying at much the same distance beyond that, in a manner not very unlike the position of the two great flat *Altar Stones*, on the ground, at *Stone Henge*.

There is also a still larger stone of this sort, near *Llan Edern*, in

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 476. + Ibid. Vol. II. p. 528.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 528. Description of England, Vol. I. p. 283.

Glamorganshire, lying in this sloping position, with one end on the ground, and the other supported by a rude stone about 2 feet high. It is somewhat of an irregular oval form, and is about 4 yards long, and 2 broad.*

And there is besides this, in *Glamorganshire*, on a mountain called *Kevyn Bryn*, two or three miles from *Penrise*, a rude stone of prodigious size, about twenty ton weight, called *Arthur's Stone*,† which appears to be supported by six or seven other stones about 4 feet high; from which, being of the *millstone* kind, several fragments have been broken off, from time to time, for use.

And on this occasion, we ought not, by any means, to forget the three very remarkable *Cromleches*, mentioned by *Mr. Brereton*, as standing in some grounds in the parish of *St. Nicholas*, about sixteen miles eastward from *Newton*, in *Glamorganshire*.‡

The upper stone of the first, is about 18 feet long; and 15 broad; and 21 inches thick. And it is supported by three stones; the back, or middle one of which is near 15 feet broad.

The second is rather less in dimensions; and sunk lower in the ground.

The third is quite perfect, in its antient form; and full 8 feet high.

All three stand on high ground; open to the east; and are in full view of each other.

In *Caermarthenshire*, in *Lhan Boudy* parish, is a rude stone, about 30 feet in circumference, and above 3 feet thick, supported by four others, about 2½ feet high.

And as we find such stupendous Remains of these *Cromleches*, in *Wales*, and particularly in *Anglesey*, where the *Britons* and *Druids* had their last retreat. So, as we might reasonably expect, there are still more remarkable Antiquities of this kind, in the *Island of Jersey*; where was another place of refuge, in their latter end; and which had been indeed an original establishment of the *Druids*, perhaps even prior to the former, if we may judge from the rudeness of the Remains.

In *St. Helier's* parish, about a mile north-north-west from the

* See the account from *Lluyd*; and in *Gough's Camden*, Vol. II. p. 528.

† See also *Gough's Camden*, Vol. II. p. 503.

‡ *Archaeologia*, Vol. III. p. 116. § *Gough's Camden*, Vol. II. p. 510.

town, on a rising ground, stands a great *Cromlech*, which consists* of a vast stone, 11½ feet long, 10 broad, 1½ foot thick, at the west end, and above 2 feet at the east end, supported by three stones, each near 5 feet high, and as much wide; so that both its appearance and size nearly resemble *Kit's Cotty House*; and, like that, it has a stone lying at a small distance on the ground, seeming to have been an Altar for fire, about 7 feet long, and 5 feet broad. There is also standing hard by, a sort of Stone of Memorial; and one other. And at about the distance of half a mile, was a *Tumulus*.

Again, on the south-east side of the town, on another *Tumulus*, or small hill, is another *Cromlech*, consisting of a vast Stone; 15 feet long, 6½ feet broad, and 4 feet thick; supported, like the former, by three other great stones. And here again, at some small distance to the west, and lying on the side of the *Tumulus*, on the ground, is another great stone, which might serve as an Altar for the fire, being 7 feet long, and 4 broad. There are also some other large stones on the north side, now thrown down. And on the east side is another, 12 feet long, 3½ broad, and between 2 and 3 feet thick, now lying prostrate on others, but which, from its form and dimensions, may be concluded to have stood erect formerly, and to have been originally a Stone of Memorial.

Still further;† on the town hill, is another *Cromlech*, consisting of a stone 14 feet long, by 7½ broad, and above 3 feet thick, supported in appearance by five others.‡ On the east-south-east side of which, stood a *Circle of Stones*.

And in *Groville* parish, near *Mont Orgeuil* Castle, on a *Tumulus*

* See Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 751.

+ Ibid. Vol. III. p. 751.

‡ This seems to be the same that is described in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1784. Vol. LIV. p. 809; but which is there said to be supported by six stones, about 2 feet from the ground; for it is very remarkable, that in the engraved figure, which accompanies that description, there are only five supporters visible.

It should be mentioned also, though it seems hardly proper to be made use of as any illustration of the present subject, that in St. Martin's parish, in Jersey, on a cliff near the sea, within an oval circle of twenty-one erect stones, is a very singular Structure, consisting of fourteen stones standing up in two rows, seven on each side, and supporting three large flat stones, each of which are about 6 feet over. And there are also, two large stones at each end, without the Circle.—See Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 751.

The Circle of Altars, discovered in 1785, on the top of an high rocky hill, near St. Helier, has been already mentioned.

in sight of the sea, is a *Cromlech*, formed of a stone 15 feet long, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, supported by five others.

In the Island of Guernsey also, there are at least three *Cromleches*; in the part called *Le Clos du Val*; one of which is called La Pierre de Debus, and points east and west, and has the upper stone 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length; and 7 feet 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth; and 4 feet 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness.*

And there are traditions of such having been extant, within memory, in the Island of Jona, which probably derived its first original estimation for sanctity, like Anglesey itself; from having been a Druid retreat and residence. A circle of stones, and a cairn found there, confirm this idea.†

Next to these Islands of Anglesey, and Jersey, and Guernsey, and to the Principality of Wales, we may most reasonably expect to find a considerable number of the Remains of these sort of Altars, in Cornwall; where the aboriginal Britons maintained their ground more firmly than in any other part of this country, except Wales. And, indeed, here we do find them in such abundance, and they have been so clearly described by Dr. Borlase, that there needs no further mention of them, on this occasion, than a mere reference to his whole account;‡ wherein, however, it cannot but be observed, that although he was so strangely led to adopt the idea of their being *Kistvaens*, or mere chests, and tombs, for interment, yet the whole tenor of his observations does really confirm all that has been here said; and he himself seems clearly to have been compelled, against his will, to adopt the idea that some of them at least certainly were Altars.

One of them, where he acknowledges there is no *Kistvaen*, is so remarkable, that I cannot but borrow a representation of it, Pl. X. fig. 2. for the more complete illustration, and confirmation, of all that has been advanced. As on that account alone so very many of these Remains in different parts, have already been so particularly, and almost tediously, described, and enumerated.

* There is a slight representation of this Stone in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1796; p. 373. Pl. II. fig. 2.

† See Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 258, 259.

‡ Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 223.

This great Cromlech is situated at *Lanyon*,* in the parish of Madern, in Cornwall; on an artificial bank of earth, not 2 feet higher than the adjacent soil, but about 70 feet long, and 20 feet wide, and extending in its length, north and south. The upper stone is 19 feet long, and more than 47 feet in circumference: its thickness on the eastern edge, is 1 foot 4 inches; and on the western edge, 2 feet. It is placed on four great stones, (one of which does not appear from the figure to bear any part of the weight); and it is placed so high, that a man can sit on horseback under it. At the south end are many rough stones, placed without regular order, but manifestly with some design. And at about 80 yards distance west-north-west, there stands an high stone, like a stone of Memorial.

In the parish of Portisham, in Dorsetshire,+ is a considerable *Cromlech*, consisting of a Stone 10 feet in length, and 6 in breadth; apparently resting on nine others; though it cannot be supposed that they all contribute to support its weight.

Cromleches also, as well as all other aboriginal Remains, conformable to British superstitions and usages, are to be met with in Scotland.

In Lothian, † south of the road to Falkirk, among the hills, is a large *Cromlech*; and near it a Circle of Stones, with one or two in the centre; and on a neighbouring little eminence, is a conical stone, set on its end. And in the country adjoining, are remains of several Cairns.

At *Oldeer* also, not far from Inverugee, in the northern parts of Scotland, on the top of an hill, is a Druidical Circle of Stones, that has already been referred to on another occasion, where are remaining three great stones § in the middle, that formerly supported a *Cromlech* of enormous size. And near this Circle are even vestiges of Cells of the Druids.

In Ireland also, we find, as in other instances, so in this, strong Remains of such edifices, and superstitious abominations, as are conformable to the corruptions of those corrupted Patriarchs, from whom both they and so many other western nations were derived.

In the county of Cork, at *Castlemary*, not far from Cloyne, is a

* See Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 231.

+ Hutch. I. 533; and Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 54.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 318.

§ Cordiner's Antiquities, p. 44.

Cromlech, called *Carig Croith*, or *the Sun's Rock*; or *Cot's Rock*;* which consists of a Stone 15 feet long, and 8 feet wide, supported by three other large ones, at the height of 9 feet from the ground. And near adjoining, lies on the ground a large round flag stone: so that both in its dimensions, and form, and height, and even in one of its names, as well as in the having this appendant hearth stone, or Altar for fire, on the ground, it bears no small resemblance to *Kit's Cotty House*.

Again; in the same county, two miles from *Castle Hyde*, is a great *double Cromlech*, called *Leaba Gallych*, or *the Warrior's Bed*; and sometimes *Labacally*, or *the Hag's Bed*;+ consisting first of a vast stone, 17 feet long, 9 feet broad, and 3 thick, sloping to the edges; and supported by stones, some whereof are 6 feet high. Near to which stands another stone, 11 feet long, and 7 feet wide, supported also on upright stones; and then a third, supported in like manner; 7 feet square. And before them, at the west end, lies a fourth stone, on the ground, as if for the fire hearth. Whilst the whole is inclosed in a great circle of flag stones standing erect.

From its old name, *the Warrior's Bed*, or *the Hag's Bed*, some have been induced to suspect that here was some Tomb, or Interment. But if it ever was so; these Altars seem plainly to have been *no Kistvaens*, but designed for horrid sacrifices: as we well know human sacrifices were offered at graves, in old times, on certain occasions; and even at the tomb of Patroclus, by *Achilles*, who we are taught to consider as one of the most potent, and most civilized of the Grecians, in the time of the Trojan war. If, therefore, any warrior, like *Odin*, was buried here; it nevertheless does by no means contradict the idea we are led to form concerning the abominable use and design of these edifices: for, like *Odin*, he might be honoured by abominable rites. Though it is much more likely, that this antient name was given to this *Cromlech*, merely in consequence of the frightful idea, which the superstitious rites of idolatrous sorcery, and divination, here performed, conveyed to the minds of common people.

* Smith, Vol. I. p. 147. Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 507.

+ Smith, Vol. I. p. 356.—Vol. II. p. 490.—And see a Representation of it in Gough's Camden, Vol. III. Pl. XXXV. fig. 9. p. 477.

And indeed, to cut the matter short at once, concerning the dispute between different writers, as to the original design of these Cromleches, whether they were at first intended merely for *Tombs*, or for *Altars*; it may be observed in general; that all antient superstitions, and corrupt idolatrous practices, were so much connected with the deification of deceased heroes, warriors, and oppressors, that unavoidably, some of their most sacred and direfully venerated Altars, and also some of their sacred Circles, where dances, and superstitious turnings and processions round, were solemnized, must have been connected with the interment, and supposed preservation of the Remains of such heroes; just as, in later dark ages, churches designed for the worship of Almighty God, were connected with, and contained the shrines of, supposed Saints, like Thomas a Becket.

Thus we find, that in the centre of two such Circles in the county of Louth, were discovered human bones,* and the broken parts of urns that contained them, made of a sort of baked clay. In which instance, it is just as unreasonable to conclude, that these Circles were mere Sepulchres, or Monuments; as it would be to conclude, that Canterbury Cathedral was no place of worship, but only a Monument of Archbishop Becket.

Just so *Cromleches*, where bones are, or may, possibly be found; are surely by no means to be considered as mere tombs, when so many corroborating circumstances lead us to be assured, that they had another, and more dreadful use; whatever remains of departed warriors, or giants in vulgar estimation, might be deposited either under them, or near to them.

And this may tend to explain, in some degree, the original history, and designation, of those two Cromleches in Ireland, under which have actually been discovered human bones; and under which *alone* human bones have ever been discovered; notwithstanding the various researches that have been made.

The first of these is in the county of *Sligo*; where, at a place called *Lugna Clogh*, or the *Giant's Grave*, near Sligo, is a sort of Cromlech of large stones, under which such bones have indeed been found.†

* Wright's Louthiana, book iii. p. 8.

† Wilson, p. 93.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 590.

And another Cromlech is said to have been thrown down on the *Ballrichan* estate, in the county of Louth: when, the ground under it being opened, there was found, about 2 feet deep, inclosed and covered with flat broad stones, great part of a human skeleton, crowded together in a bed of blue greasy earth, as if originally lodged in an urn. And with the bones were mixed some pieces of hard clay, about the thickness of one's little finger. And a yard deeper, under another flat stone, were several other large bones; but whether human or not was uncertain.* And on a still further examination of this spot, and digging further down, it appeared, that there were many regular stones of a considerable length, placed at bottom, very deep; and that the whole seemed to have been built up regularly, on purpose, to strengthen the three great props that supported the upper stone of the Cromlech, and to prevent their being forced down into the ground, by the immense superincumbent load.

All this, however, plainly discovers a design, for the erection of somewhat of much more importance than a mere *Kistvaen*, or Sepulchre. And indeed, in this very county of Louth, we have another instance of a most remarkable Cromlech, of which the *very name*, still preserved by tradition, shews the original dreadful use.

It is called the *Killing Stone*; and the hill on which it is reared, is called, to this hour, *Killing Hill*. The name indicates *Slaughter*. And the *Cromlech Altar*, which, from the figure given of it, + greatly resembled *Kit's Cotty House*, and which Wright calls the Cell for sacrifice; was placed on the highest summit of the hill; and surrounded by a Circle of pyramidical Stones, (like that formerly at Abury).

Upon a very near adjoining summit also, was another Circle of Stones; which might surround the flat Altar on the ground, for burning. The whole, there is reason to think, was surrounded by a wood of oaks; and must have produced, altogether, a magnificent, and vastly awful, appearance, to rude minds; especially when approached from the south.

But what is most remarkable, and connects this Cromlech Altar more particularly with Druidical Superstitions, and horrid detestable

* Wright's *Louthiana*, book iii. p. 12.

+ *Louthiana*, book iii. p. 13.—Pl. VI. and VII.—fig. A.

Rites, performed in the latter ages of their prevalence, is, that upon the principal Stones that form the Altar, are found spiral figures, resembling the celebrated *snake stones* of the Druids; which, indeed, have been supposed to have been carved; but which were most probably merely the fossil impressions of the *Cornua Ammonis*, in the original stone; of which the Druids might, in this instance, avail themselves, as they did, in other instances, of the loose smaller fossils of that kind.

Whether, however, these appearances, upon the stones, were mere accidental impressions of the *Cornu Ammonis shell*;—and whether the stones were particularly chosen for the purpose, because such impressions were found upon them;—or whether they were really rude carvings with any tool;—it cannot be beside our purpose to call to mind, some circumstances relating to the attention paid to *the Serpent* (whose form the *Cornu Ammonis* resembles), by many heathen nations.

The learned Mr. Bryant has made several very curious observations,* concerning the general connection of a superstitious regard for *the Serpent*, with the abominable rites of idolatry, in Syria, and in Egypt, and in Crete, and in Greece:—and has shewn that it was originally derived from the *Chaldeans*. It unquestionably therefore prevailed amongst the *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*.

And on that account it much deserves our notice, that as the great Cromlech Altar (as we may, indeed, truly conceive it to have been), mentioned by Maundrell, in Syria, was situated near to what was called the *Serpent Fountain*;†—so concerning the great Temple at Mexico, where was a great Altar for human sacrifices, (which I have in the foregoing pages adverted to, as having had originally a connection with the Cromlech), we are informed by *Joseph de Acosta*, and *Antonio de Solis*,‡ that the Wall of the great Square, inclosing the whole, was wrought, on the outside, with various knots of *Serpents* intertwined.

The Druids, we know, had some sort of superstitious reverence for *the Serpent*. And as there seem, in so many instances, to have

* Analysis of Ancient Mythology, Vol. I. p. 473. 478, 482.

† See Maundrell's Travels, p. 20; and also Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 203.

‡ History of the Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I. p. 321, 322.

been a connection between *their* ideas, and those of the antient corrupters of religion, in the Patriarchal countries; so on this occasion another resemblance may very well be brought to mind.

For as we are well informed how celebrated the Druids were for the songs of their Bards, accompanied by the harp; so Mr. Bryant has remarked,* from unquestionable authorities, that the songs of the *Canaanites*, and *Cretans*, which accompanied their horrible human sacrifices, and cruel rites, were particularly plaintive, and melodious.

We have the strongest proofs that can be expected, of the real existence of the *Druids* in Ireland,† even in the days of St. Patrick. The name of Druid is also to this day, in the Irish tongue, applied to a *Cunning Fellow*, or *Wizard*. And O'Donnel, an old translator of the New Testament into Irish, was thereby even led to call the *Wise Men of the East* DRUIDS. There are also remaining, an *Astronomers' Hill* belonging to them, called *Carrick Edmond*, which cannot but remind us of the *Cerrig Edris*, or *Astronomers' Mountain*, in Merionethshire, in Wales: and there is also an *Astronomers' Circle of Stones*, not far from Dundalk, called *Carrick Brauda*,‡ corresponding very nearly in name with the *Cerrig Brudyn*, or *Astronomers' Stones*, that existed in Anglesey, where also is another *Caer-Edris*, or *Caer-Idris*.§

As the latest existence of the Druids, and of their imitators, was in Ireland; so it ought to be remarked, that in Ireland too there seem plainly to have been some strange, and irregular imitations of Cromleches, in ages *after* the real Druidical times: of which fact, a Cromlech, on the top of *Slive na Grideal* mountain, || in the county of Down, may serve as a proof; which is shaped like a lozenge, 11 feet long, and 8½ feet wide; and 1½ foot thick; and is placed on *two* stones only; one 8 feet high; and 3 broad; and 1 thick; and the other not above 3 feet high.

And again, in the same county, we find a place called the *Giant's Ring*; which is an earth-work, 842 paces in circumference, having

* Analysis of Ancient Mythology, Vol. II. p. 17, 18.

† Ogygia, p. 58.—Matthew Kennedy, p. 19.

‡ Louthiana, book iii. p. 6.

§ Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 84.

|| Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 620.

in the centre a Cromlech, of 7 feet by 6, supported by two ranges of seven pillars; and round it, at 4 feet distance, several stones 2 feet high.*

And as the usage of erecting a sort of *Cromleches* seems to have continued in this rude manner longer, and more recently, in Ireland, than in any other parts of Europe; so in the same country, there are also other vestiges of interments being connected with Altars, and Sacrifices, and Burnings, and Circles of Stones, somewhat resembling Druidical Circles, of a more variable, and manifestly later construction, than any of those in Britain.

Of this there seems to be a very singular proof, in a most remarkable Circle of Stones, in the county of Dublin: which is so unlike any thing Druidical in reality, when narrowly examined; and yet has such a strange connection, in part, with the imitations, and external appearances, of Druidical Memorials, that it would be most unpardonable not to mention it on this occasion; though it only tends to shew, how *external appearances* may be resembled, and names assumed, after the original design of things is changed.

At *Mount Druid*, not far from *Dalkey*,† is a Circle, 135 feet in circumference, composed of large stones set upright; and within the area are three tombs, or altars; and a circular figure cut in stone. And near to them was discovered, in 1787, below the surface of the earth, a great number of tombs, or stone coffins, composed of thin flag stones, and in the form of our modern coffins. They had no flags at bottom, but were nicely covered at top, and laid side by side. A great number of skeletons lay near them without coffins. And they were only about 2 feet below the surface, and laid in rows. And on the top of *Dalkey-hill*, is an immense stone, something like a Cromlech, called *Clogh-hobber-gilline-stone*.

So near *Dungannon*, in the county of *Tyrone*, on an hill, are two Circles of Stones, forming a figure of eight; each about 20 yards diameter, inclosing urns in holes, set round with six stones, and covered with flat stones, and other stones thrown on the top. And about 30 yards to the east of these circles, was a kind of Altar of dry stone, 8 feet long, and 4 feet wide;—and both coals, and

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 622.

† Wilson, 287; and Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 559.

bones, were discovered by it among the stones, which had the marks of fire very obviously remaining.

And at the east end, of this sort of Altar, was a pit, into which the remains, after burning, were plainly thrown; insomuch that a black greasy substance had tinged part of the hill, in a straight line from the pit.*

These irregular appearances it is needful to mention, to prevent mistakes; and in order to lay the whole detail fairly before the eyes of the curious and intelligent. And, for the same reason, it would be an omission not to add a short recital of the rest of the most distinguished Cromleches, of the more usual and regular antient kind, that have been taken notice of in Ireland.

In the same county of Cork, where the *Warriors'*, or *Hags' Bed* is found, is another Cromlech; and a Circle of Stones; situated a little to the east of what is called *Carickafouchy* Castle, or *Fairy Rock* Castle; where the very name seems to indicate a connection with antient Superstitions.

The Castle stands on a rock, accessible only on one side, and to one person.+ And in this neighbourhood also, are other Circles of Stones, with single Pillars, like *Pillars of Memorial*, standing at a small distance. All which seems to be a further confirmation of the superstitious designation of the whole.

We have the representation also given us of a very large Cromlech, having the great upper stone placed in a sloping position on three others; which stands on the borders of Loch Cool, Galway; the upper stone being 15 feet by 12.†

In *Wicklow*, on the top of a very high mountain, called *Lug-na-Cullach*, north of *Baltinglas*, is a large Cromlech. And there is another in the Park of *Baltinglas*.§

In the county of *Louth*, near *Dundalk*, || is a Cromlech of a kind of oval form; 12 feet by 6; weighing between thirty and forty ton; and resting on *three* others. It is called the *Giant's Load*; and pretended to have been brought hither, all at once, by *Parraghbough M'Shaggean*, a giant; whose grave, a cell of stone work, 20 feet

* Philos. Trans. No. 337. G.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 638.

+ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 505.

‡ Ibid. Vol. III. Pl. XLVII.

fig. 8. p. 603.

§ Ibid. Vol. III. p. 551.

|| Ibid. p. 603.

by 5, they shew near it. On which occasion it is obvious to remark, that if this Cromlech, ever had any connection with the memory or interment of any antient warrior, this Stone Cell, and not the Cromlech, was the *Kistvaen*.

In the county of Down, near *Dundrum*, is a Cromlech, 10 yards round; 3 broad; and 4 or 5 feet thick: placed on *three* stones, 4 feet high.*

And in the same county, in the parish of Drumgoolan, on a mountain, is another Cromlech, 11 feet long; 5 feet broad; and about 2 feet thick; placed also on *three* stones, about 6 feet high.+

In the county of Tyrone, on the verge of the county of Derry, is a great Cromlech, or *inclined stone*; 10 feet in length; and 28 in circumference; ‡ supported by six upright stones: the highest of which is about 5 feet above ground, and 2 at least under it. So that this Cromlech appears to be about 7 feet high, at the east end, and about 3 at the west end.

In the Introduction to Mr. Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, is a representation § of a very remarkable Cromlech at *Tombins*, or *Tobin's-Town*, in the county of Carlow, in Ireland, the upper stone of which is 23 feet long; and 18 broad at one end, but only 6 at the other; and from 2 to 4 feet thick: the upper surface of which is convex, and has one large channel, and other small ones, branching from it, that have almost the appearance of being artificial; and evidently seem to have been designed for some superstitious use.

There is also another as remarkable Cromlech described; || as being on Brown's hill, about a mile and a half from Carlow. And here also the great sloping Stone is above 22 feet in length, and 18 feet in breadth.

Such are the Cromleches that are to be met with in Great Britain, and Ireland. And it is no wonder that so many of them, are still remaining in the latter island; when we consider that Pagan Rites, and Druidism, actually continued there, so late as the year 432.**

As in other instances of primæval manners, and customs, so in

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 619.

+ Ibid. p. 623.

‡ Ibid. p. 638.

§ Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. I. Introduction, p. xi.

|| Ibid. p. xii.

** Usher, Prim. p. 852.—Ind. Chron. p. 430.—Borlase, p. 155.

this, of the use of the Cromlech, other nations, derived from the same first ancestors, have left similar proofs of their customs ; which cannot well be accounted for from any imitation of the Britons ; any more than the appearances in Britain can, with any consistency, be supposed to have been derived from any connection with those nations.

In the countries first inhabited by the Gauls and Danes, there are remains of these sort of Structures ; which have led hasty observers to suspect, that the very first origin of such edifices, was either amongst the antient Danes, or Gauls ; and was from thence brought into Britain. But they might surely just as well have concluded, that their first original fabrication was in Britain ; and that the imitation of them was from *thence* conveyed to the northern parts of Europe, and to Gaul. And neither in the one instance, or in the other, would the conclusion be true.

We have seen, that there is still existing, a specimen of these Structures, in that part of Syria, in the East, which was the source of the most abominable Corruptions, and Institutions, that perverted the whole Gentile world.

And as a further proof of the origin of the rearing of Cromleches having been in Eastern parts of the world, and neither in the north, nor in Britain, we have an account of somewhat similar Structures, in the island of Minorca ; where the great antiquity of the inhabitants has always been spoken of, in the strongest terms ; even in the earliest ages.

The Structures there, that have this sort of resemblance to Cromleches, are by the natives of the Island, to this day, called *Altars of the Gentiles* ; or *Heathen Altars*.*

There are many of them in the island. And one of the most remarkable of them is thus described.

It stands about two miles to the eastward of *Alaior*, on an eminence ; and is inclosed by a Circle about 200 yards in diameter, formed of large flat stones, set on their ends close together.

In the centre of this inclosure is a huge mass of great rough Stones, piled on each other, without mortar, in a sort of conical

* Armstrong's History of Minorca, p. 215. 217.

figure ; being about 90 feet in diameter, and near as many in height (resembling what we call *Cairns*, or *Carneddles*, in England and Wales) ; and having a cavity and narrow entrance, now open, at the base : and a special path of ascent, about 3 feet broad, on the outside, with a flat area on the top, only large enough to hold six or seven persons.

At some distance from this Pile, or *Cairn*, and within the same circular inclosure of stones, stands (what is called *the Gentile Altar*) ; the mass that has such affinity to the *Cromlech*.

It consists of a great upper stone, 16 feet long ; 7 broad ; and about 2 feet thick ; which is placed nearly horizontally, at the distance of almost 12 feet from the ground ; being supported by another stone, of very similar dimensions, standing on edge, and fixed in the ground even much below the surface. The upper stone rests upon the upper broad edge of the other ; and neither one, nor the other, seem to have upon them the mark of any tool.

There are several such *Cairns* in *Minorca*, as this which has been described. And they are so placed, that from any one of them you may always see some other. And near each is constantly found such a sort of Altar.*

As the upper stone of that which has been just described is placed nearly horizontally ; and as it is supported in so singular a manner ; it has some appearance of having been used as an *Altar of Oblation* (like some of those which have been mentioned, in the preceding observations concerning *Stone Henge*), rather than as a *Cromlech* ; but as its bulk, dimensions, and height from the ground, have a proportion and resemblance so much nearer to that of the *Cromlech*, it was nevertheless more proper, to mention it on this occasion.

And as we have mentioned this Structure in *Minorca*, so, in like manner, what has been called a sort of *Stone Henge*, in *Friesland*,† deserves now to be taken notice of.

In *Drenthe*, in *Over Yssel*, near *Coeworden*, on the borders of *East Friesland*, are heaps of Stones ; from 16 to 25 paces in length ; and

* Armstrong's History of *Minorca*, p. 217, 218.

† It is mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788, Vol. LVIII. p. 195. 318 ; with references to the pages in the German printed book, where it is described at large.

from 4 to 6 paces in breadth: and here also, upon smaller stones, are laid others of immense weight; some of which are 56 feet in circumference;* (and therefore must be from 14 to 18 feet in length, and breadth; nearly resembling the dimensions of our large Cromleches).

There is also, besides these;—a large mass of this kind, near *Saltzberg*;—another of amazing size at *Embsbuir*;—and there are several others also, in parts adjacent† to *Friesland*.

And Dr. Brown informs us,‡ that in the road through *Lower Saxony*, he found rows of great Stones, like those mentioned by Wormius, in Denmark; and that in one place particularly, he took notice of three massy stones placed in the middle of a large square space, encompassed by other large stones, set up on end. As we may recollect the Altar in Syria was also in the midst of a square space.

And as a still further proof of the connection of these sort of Structures, with persons, manners, and observances of a similar kind with those of the Druids; and deriving their customs from the same primæval sources; it ought not to be omitted, that near one of those Cromleches, which are still called *Heathen Altars*, in *Minorca*, was found an *Earthen Bead*,§ of near an inch in length, and three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with an hole through it; which greatly resembled those *Druidical Beads* which have been so often found in Wales, and in different parts of Britain.

It remains only to observe, that as the rude *Stone Pillars* of the corrupted Heathen nations, are particularly mentioned in the prohibitions of the Divine Mosaical Law; so also there seems to be some mention of these kind of rude *Cromlech Structures*, which we have been describing.

For it is scarce possible to annex any other idea to what the Septuagint translates λίθον σκοπόν, *Saxum quod spectatur*; a Stone to be looked upon, and revered; or to be viewed, with respect, as distinct from a Pillar.

* See also Schaten's History of Westphalia, Vol. VII. p. 487.

† Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LVIII. p. 318.

‡ Brown's Travels, p. 146.

§ Armstrong's History of Minorca, p. 222.

Leviticus, chap. xxvi. ver. 1.

Οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς χειροποίητα, οὐδὲ γλυπτόν, οὐδὲ Στήλην ἀναστήσετε ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ λίθον σκοπὸν ἵσητε ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν, προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ.

If the translation of the word σκοπὸν were to mean only a mere *Stone Pillar*, standing as an idol; or as it has sometimes been thought, a *figured stone, to bow down to*; then the words of the law would be mere repetitions: as they are indeed made to appear to be, in the translation in our Bible: where we read,
Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it.

But if they be more closely translated, with a strict adherence to the meaning of each word, the expressions will *all* be found to describe very different things; which were necessary to be understood, in order to be avoided; as thus,
Ye shall not make to yourselves any idols (the work of men's hands) nor a graven figure; neither shall ye SET UP a rude Stone PILLAR; neither shall ye PLACE a Stone TO BE LOOKED UPON, in your land; to worship towards it.

For here we find a strict caution,—first, against making an *idol Statue*; or a *graven figure* on a tablet, as a representation, to bow down unto;—next, against setting up a rude stock, or *Stone Pillar*, as an idolatrous object to bow down to;—and then, against *placing* (for the distinction between the words *setting up*, and *placing*, is very remarkable), A *STONE TO BE LOOKED AT*, and bowed down to;—that is, in other words, against placing a stone, *which as a scaffold, should be viewed by multitudes*; and towards which, because of rites performed thereon, was accustomed to be *bowing*, and abominable Heathen worship.

And if the words are allowed to be in this manner translated, with a careful attention to the full extent of their meaning; there is surely no kind of *placed stone* now extant in the world, to which they can so properly be applied, as to *the old Celtic Cromlech*.

It may fairly be added also, that there seems to be an allusion to some such stone scaffold, or elevated stone, as being a place of execution, in the account that is given of Abimelech's slaughter

of his brethren.*—For it is said, “he slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and ten persons, upon one stone.” And this expression the rather seems to allude to such a well known antient sort of *Cromlech Stone*;† because, from ver. 18. it appears evidently to have been a public execution, with the consent of all the people. And because an antient *stone Pillar* is moreover immediately mentioned as being not far distant:—for we read in (ver. 6), that after this execution, “all the men of Shechem, and all the house of Millo, went and made Abimelech King, by the plain of the Pillar that was in Shechem.” Where we have, just as manifestly, an allusion to the antient ceremonial of inauguration by a Pillar, in a stone circle; perfectly consistent with what has been said concerning such usages, in the preceding pages.

We have found that there are still existing amongst us, in this island, many remains of the rude erected *Stone Pillars*, of the earliest ages; similar to those abominations of the Land of Canaan, which were derived from corrupted Patriarchal usages: and we now find also, that there are Remains of the *placed Stones, to be looked at*; or of the dire *conspicuous Scaffolds*.

And it is very remarkable, that in the old *Erse* language, as explained by a Scottish Highlander,‡ who was skilled in that aboriginal language, *Crom* signifies bent, or crooked; and *lech* is a corruption of *clach*, a stone; and the word *Cromlech*, therefore, in

* Judges, chap. ix. ver. 5.

† Some curious persons may perhaps suspect, with me, that it was upon some such stone as this, that the Ark of the Lord was placed at *Beth-shemesh*, when it was conveyed back, out of the land of the Philistines:—and the rather, because it appears that, on some account or other, the Divine displeasure was greatly manifested against the men of *Beth-shemesh* on that occasion;—our translation says, *they had looked into the Ark*;—but that does not agree with the translation in the Septuagint:—it rather should seem, from thence, that the displeasure arose from the *Ark being seen in THAT PLACE*.—The Septuagint also leads us to conclude, that it was a great stone, *that had been placed there by men's hands*.—It is called the *Stone of Abel*; and appears to have remained to the days of Ezra.—See 1 Samuel, chap. vii. ver. 14, 15. 18, 19.

We know the Israelites went so far, in their compliance with the horrible usages of the land, as to sacrifice their children to *Moloch* and to devils.—And we find the holy Prophet reproving them for their being *soothsayers like the Philistines*;—and for their *bowing down*.—See Isaiah, chap. ii. ver. 6. 9. Psalm cvi. ver. 36, 37.

‡ See the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXII. p. 695.

its very etymology, according to the original ideas of *that* country, still imports a stone that was to be bent towards, or bowed to, or to be looked toward out of abominable superstition; as well as a stone placed in a bent or sloping position.

The same is the meaning in *Welsh*, and *Cornish*, as derived from the Celtic language.* To which we may add, the remark of the learned Rowland,† that *Crom*, in the old Celtic language, seems to have been derived, on the confusion of tongues, from the Hebrew word *Cerem*: according to which idea, *Cerem-lech* will signify a devoted, or sacrificing stone; as *Cremlyn*, or *Cremlynan*, signifies a sacrificing grove.

Take therefore the derivation of the word *Cromlech* how you will, it accords, in one shape or other, with the *Stone of Abomination* pointed at in the Mosaic Law, as distinguished from that other abomination, the *Stone Pillar*; whilst both are equally distinguished from idol images, and graven figures.‡

It will now perhaps be proper, before we conclude these observations, just to reflect a little, by what means these immense masses of stone could be reared.

Much has been said, about the impossibility of their being raised from the ground by any mechanical powers that we are acquainted with: and concerning the supposed most astonishing skill of the architects. But as, on the one hand, we may be assured they were reared in *barbarous ages*; and find, in other parts of the earth, that the most uncivilized, and unenlightened countries, and the earliest

* Borlase, p. 225.

† Rowland's *Mona*, p. 47.

‡ In these sheets I have endeavoured, in the clearest manner possible, and from the highest, and most unquestionable authorities of remote antiquity, to elucidate the true history of the Druidical Stones; of their sacred Circles; and of their abominable Altars. But I cannot forbear adding an hearty wish, that no use may ever be made of what is here brought to light, for the purpose of introducing any imitations, or representations, of such things upon the stage, by way of representing antient manners. For I must conscientiously say, that I have ever thought the representation of Pagan sacrifices, and of Pagan rites, upon the stage, to be (if not an absolute abomination in itself), at least a too near imitation of abominations. And the very reverse of an observance of that holy Command, to which a blessing was annexed; viz. to break their images; and pillars; and to throw down their Altars, &c.

§ See Deuteronomy, chap. xii. ver. 2, 3.

ages, have ever been most remarkable for the moving, and making use of such ponderous masses of rock ; so it really requires no great degree of penetration, to perceive, by what means it might be done ; even without any great portion of that knowledge of mechanic powers, which we really are acquainted with.

The simple lever, with a common roller, aided by mounds of earth, and a few wedges, are quite sufficient for the purpose ; added to the exertions of a multitude of hands.

It may clearly be conceived ; that when the upright pillars of support were once placed in their proper position ; that if these were covered up by an artificial and firm mount, raised round them for a considerable extent, with a gentle and gradual ascent on one side ; that a covering stone (even larger than any that is found on any *Cromleches*), might very well be dragged, and forced up, on rollers, by united efforts of men, and oxen ; both which are actually said to have been thus made use of, by Harold, the son of Gormon, in Jutland ; when he removed a vast Stone, to be placed over his mother's grave.

And when, by such efforts, the Stone was once brought to its proper place, and situation, over the supporters ; on removing the mount of earth, by the same number of soldiers, or other people, by whom it was raised, the whole Structure would appear finished, and firm.

And as to the placing the supporters themselves ;—this might surely be done (even if they had been vastly larger than any we know of), by means of the same sort of bank of earth ; at first advanced no further than to the side of the *foundation pit*, or cavity, into which the bottom of the stone was to be let down : having a proper and steep slope formed, from its summit, down to the bottom of the pit. For the intended stone support being advanced on rollers, and pieces of timber, to the very brink and edge of the summit of the bank ; on being forced only a little further, would fall over of itself, by its own weight ; and sliding down the steep slope, would pitch, with its lower end in the pit ; in a position very near being upright ; and might soon be made, by the driving of wedges, to stand perfectly right.*

* In justice to perfect truth, I must affirm, that this plain account of the matter had offered itself to my mind, and had carried with it, to the best of my apprehensions, the

That, in the earliest ages of antiquity, mankind did actually make use of such kind of *sloping ascents, formed by factitious mounds of earth, and other materials*, for the heaving up of vast masses of Stone; seems to be pointed out to us, by those most remarkable *artificial Causeys*, near the pyramids of Egypt; of which no other account can be given, than that they were used to convey to the sloping sides of such mounts, and by that means up to the spots where they are now placed, the immense stones whereof those fabrics are composed. Some of which stones are 30 feet in length, and 3 or 4 feet in thickness.*

Norden informs us,† that the artificial upper plain, formed on the rock on which the pyramids are placed, and which is about four-score feet above the lower plain, has a *sloping* on the north side, and on the east side; which favoured the making divers *causeys*, that gave conveniency of transporting the materials necessary for the pyramids.—Consistently with which observation, Herodotus had informed the world, above two thousand years before; that, according to the tradition of the country (which indeed he received from the Egyptian Priests), the Egyptians were employed ten years,‡ *in forming a way, or CAUSEY; over which they might draw the stones used in building the pyramids.* And this causey, he says, was formed of hewn stone; and was adorned with sculptures of animals.

And it is very remarkable, that there exist to this day, not only the *sloping* of the rock observed by Norden; but also remains of *two causeys* on the east side;§ and of *another causey*, on the north side of the pyramids; in a most singular situation; seeming plainly, by its direction, to have been designed for the conveyance of stones, from a canal, about two miles from the pyramids; and being of a most singular structure.—For it extends about 1000 yards in length;||

the fullest conviction, long before I perused the *Mona Antiqua*. But in justice to the author of that curious work; and as a confirmation of the full conviction with which plain truth strikes various minds, attending to it; I must also acknowledge, that I found, afterwards, Rowland had previously acquired much the same kind of apprehensions of this matter. See *Mona Antiqua*, p. 94.

* Greaves's *Pyramidographia*, Vol. I. p. 101. 104.

† Norden's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 71. ‡ Herodotus, ed. Wesselin. 124. p. 163.

§ The Plan of these may be seen in Norden's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 71. Pl. XLIII.

|| Pococke's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 42.

and is about 20 feet wide;* and is built of hewn stone; and has a turning, in its direction, in one part; and at last ends abruptly, at about the distance of a mile+ from the pyramids; opposite to the easy slope, and ascent, on that side of the rock.

This latter Causey, besides its arches, has indeed inscriptions, and other evident proofs, of having been, in its present state, partly a work of the Saracens. But those parts seem to have been reparations of breaches in a much more antient work.—And it is in a situation where it seems to have had no use, in any late ages.†

The Temples in Upper Egypt, it is well known, were built of vast stones; and these also must have been conveyed to their place by means of a very similar kind.

And by some simple method, merely of this sort, in all probability, were those immense stones brought to their proper situation, which are found in a wall surrounding a part of the Temple of Balbec. Where there are many stones above 30 feet in length; 13 feet wide; and 10 thick.‡ And some even 63, and 64 feet in length; placed near 20 feet above the ground. ||

Whilst in a quarry, not much more than half a mile from thence (and out of which these stones seem to have been taken), Pococke saw still remaining, a stone ready hewn out, only the bottom was not yet separated from the rock; which stone measured 68 feet in length; and was 17 feet 8 inches wide; and 13 feet 10 inches thick.**

After the mention of these, the great Stones in the antient Palace of Persepolis, in Persia, scarce deserve notice; although they are to the full as large as most of those used in the Druidical Structures, and Cromleches, which we have been describing: being some of them 13 or 14 feet long, and 8 broad; and others 9 or 10 feet long, and 6 broad.++ And several of those which stand upright, as supporters to those above, being from 8 to 15 feet in height, above the ground. ††

* Norden, Vol. I. p. 80. PL XLIV. † This might probably be, because it served only for the conveyance of stones, by means of a very long artificial sloping mount, from this ending, to the upper part of the pyramids; conveying them far above that easy sloping of the rock, which was of use only for forming their bases. ‡ Norden's Travels, Vol. I. p. 80. § Ruins of Balbec, p. 19.—Maundrell's Travels, p. 138.

|| Pococke, Vol. II. p. 112. ** Ibid. †† Voyages de le Bruyn, Tom. IV. p. 303. 305. ‡‡ Voyage de M. Chardin, Tom. II. p. 154. ed. 1735.

With regard to the Stones used in Egypt, we have even an account of the very manner in which they were hewed out of the quarries. For Pococke tells us, that after viewing the ruins of the antient Syene, he went about a mile south-east to the granite quarries; all the country to the east, and the islands, and bed of the Nile, being red granite; (the Thebaic stone mentioned by Herodotus.) These quarries, he says, are not worked in deep; but the stone is hewn out of the sides of the low hills. And he saw some columns marked out in the quarries, and shaped on two sides: and particularly a long square one, which might be designed for an obelisk. They seemed to have worked in, round the stones, with a narrow tool; and, when the stones were almost separated, there is reason to think they forced them out of their beds with large wedges; of which there are great signs in the quarries, in all parts. In some places also, he observed channels marked out, about 3 inches wide; and holes cut in those channels, at certain distances, as if for their chisels to go in; so that probably they worked down with the chisels, at the bottom, and on one side of the stone, and then forced the stone out of its bed with wedges."*

When Solomon built the house wherein he was himself to dwell; and an house for Pharaoh's daughter; they were built, we are told, of costly stones, sawed with saws, + 15 feet in length, and of 12 feet.

And when Herod rebuilt the Temple at Jerusalem, it was with stones white and strong: the length of each of which was $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet; their height, or rather their depth, 12 feet; and their breadth, 18 feet. ‡

And Josephus even tells us of some that were 45 cubits (*i. e.* $67\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length); § 6 cubits (or 9 feet), in breadth; and 5 cubits (or $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet), in height, or thickness. ||

* Pococke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 117.

+ 1 Kings, chap. vii. ver. 9, 10.

‡ Josephus's Antiquities of the Jews, Book xv. chap. xi. sect. 3.—This much elucidates the meaning of the Observation which the Disciples made to our Lord, Mark, chap. xiii. ver. 1.

§ In order that I may not exceed in any of these descriptions, I have considered *the cubit* as being merely that measure which is commonly called *the Cubit of the Ark*; (or 1 foot 6 inches.)—But if we take the cubit to be, as Whiston does, and also several other learned men, 1 foot 9 inches; the vast dimensions of the stones will be still greater.

|| De Bello Jud. lib. v. cap. 5. sect. 6.

When he built the mole at the port of Cæsarea also, Josephus tells us,* he let down stones into 20 fathom water; the greatest part of which were 50 feet in length; and 9 in depth; and 10 in breadth; and some still larger.

The stones also with which he built his three celebrated Towers, on the old walls of Jerusalem, were some of them 20 cubits (or 30 feet) in length; 10 cubits (or 15 feet) in breadth; and 5 cubits (or 7½ feet) in depth, or thickness.

We find therefore, that in the days of Solomon; in the time of Herod, and Augustus Cæsar; and in the time of the Emperor Antoninus; larger stones than those either on any Cromlech, or at Stone Henge, were reared to various and considerable heights; without any mention, by the Historians, of any extraordinary engines, or uncommon mechanical powers, to effect the work.

And as it is impossible to suppose that the use of any very uncommon, or important machines, or devices, actually used on so many extraordinary occasions at different periods (if there had been any such machines), should have been forgotten; or that the memorial thereof should have been lost in the world; when the account of matters of so much less import, in those very days, has been carefully preserved; we may be assured, that nothing more than *common exertions* were made, on those occasions; and such as were deemed to be merely of course, and well understood by all mankind:—in short, merely the use of sloping banks of earth, or stone; and of levers; wedges; and rude timber frames.

Such knowledge might be easily apprehended by the most barbarous people: and there is every reason to believe was derived from the first Patriarchs; from whom so many various nations branched off, and were descended.

We therefore find instances of similar operations, amongst other antient and barbarous people, as well as amongst the Britons.

For *Don Antonio de Ulloa* informs us, that the Stones of the old Palaces of the Yncas of Quito, were of prodigious magnitude, ‡ and magnificence; placed one upon another, and joined in the nicest manner, but without any cement. In which palaces, it is remark-

* Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. i. cap. 21. sect. 6. † Ibid. lib. v. cap. 4. sect. 4.

‡ Ulloa's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 499. 502.

able, that the door-ways are formed somewhat like those in Upper Egypt.

It is well known also, what vast stones have been used for building some of the very antient *Choltres*, in the East Indies.

And in like manner, we are informed, that in *Dalmatia*, the rude ancestors of the *Morlacchi*, placed vast stones over graves; of which there are above two hundred, 9 feet long; 5 feet broad; and 5 feet thick; which, says *Abbe Alberto Fortis*,* (reasoning in the usual method upon this subject), it is not possible to imagine how the old inhabitants of the country could bring from the mountain, without the help of well contrived machines.

Yet as to any extraordinary machines, we may be assured, from every circumstance of their history, they had them not.

And now; after all the prodigious masses just mentioned, the vast circular Stone of 38 feet in diameter, placed on the top of the Sepulchre of Theodorick the Goth, at *Ravenna*, ought by no means to be forgotten.+ For this mass seems to have been reared, and placed in its present situation, in conformity to ideas of magnificence, which Theodorick's Gothic soldiers had derived from their own *Celtic* country; though long after the use of the *Cromlech* was forgotten.

It was reared about the year 526, not by architects deriving their skill, and powers, from the architects of Adrian, or Antoninus:—but by men (as Theodorick himself was a *Dacian*,) much more acquainted with the rude methods used by the *Morlacchi*, and *Dalmatians*, in moving their ponderous grave-stones; and, by modes which we have every reason to conclude were similar to such as were used by the antient *Minorcans*, and by the antient *Britons*, in rearing all their various superstitious Structures.

* Travels into Dalmatia, p. 254.

+ There has been a fine Drawing made of this building by Clarisseau, of which a Print has been published by Mr. Sandby.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING BARROWS; CAIRNS; AND KISTVAENS.

THE path we have hitherto trodden, in the investigation of aboriginal military works, and of contemporary rude works of architecture, was necessary to pass through; in order to shew the first dawnings of the efforts of mankind, exerted to procure mere safety, in a savage state;—in a state unrestrained by good laws, good government, or civilization:—in a state, where *thus* only could be found some scope for exercising the faculties, and various apprehensions of the human mind, in the midst of darkness:—where the whole soul was rendered torpid, for want of proper exertion:—and where even the little light obtained, was but as darkness; and became rather a means of plunging the mind into the most dangerous superstitions, and errors, than a source of any true consolation, or an inlet of any real good.

And this path, which we have been thus obliged to tread, has been the more difficult, and unpleasant:—because the specimens, necessary to be referred to, lie so scattered; and in such a ruined condition; and have, in general, been so imperfectly described by those who examined them at all, when they were more perfect:—and because the facts needful to be brought into one point of view, in order to give us an insight into their true history, were to be collected from the accounts of so many various countries, and from the very short details of most antient writers. Whilst, at the same time, the sad superstitious abominations that have been thus unavoidably brought to remembrance, are such as deserve everlasting oblivion; except only as far as the remembrance of them, is absolutely needful to explain, in a more full, and more satisfactory manner, the real history of the world.

To attain, however, in any degree, to such explanation, is ever worthy of our utmost pains. And to trace the progressive improve-

ments of mankind ; so as to make us duly sensible of the blessings we now enjoy, in consequence of superior light, and unmerited advantages, is a just tribute of thankfulness to the great Author of all good.

What remains to be said, with regard to this obscure subject, relating to the exertions and customs of the very first barbarous ages, will be somewhat less difficult.

For the next kind of Remains that come under consideration ;—those relating to memorials of their dead ;—the *Barrows*, *Cairns*,* and real *Kistvaens* ;—it will be proper to describe all together, and at the same time ; because, in truth, I hardly know of any such thing as a *Kistvaen*, properly so called, but what is connected with a *Barrow*, or *Cairn*.

And the other few remaining species of British antiquities, the *Logan*, or *Rocking Stones* ; and the *Tolmen* ; and the *Bason Stones*, are of such a kind, that I have but very little more to observe with regard to them, than has been sufficiently explained by others.

With regard to *Barrows*, and *Cairns*, in general, it ought, however, in the first place, to be observed ; that there is very great reason to believe, that almost all that we have in this island, are *British* : and that even those that were heaped up in Roman times ; and where Roman insignia have been found ; were the Sepultures, not of Romans ; but of *British Officers*, or *Chieftains*, in *Roman service*.

We do not find that the Romans ever raised Barrows over the sepulchres, or ashes, of their *Great Men*, either in Italy, or in any other part of the world ; and, therefore, there can be no proper authority for supposing them to have done so in this country.

In truth, they do not seem to have raised any Barrows at all ; except, in a very few instances, after great battles (in which case, Mounds, or Barrows, have at certain times been raised, even down to the latest periods, by all nations) ; insomuch that three Mounds, like Barrows, were raised in Scotland, after the battle of Culloden, in 1745.†

But these sort of *battle Barrows* may easily be distinguished, from

* It is well known that the *Cairn* is distinguished from the *Barrow*, merely by being a vast artificial heap of loose stones, instead of being a similar heap of earth, and sods of turf.

† See Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 430.

all others, by the immense number of bones they contain; as was the case with one opened in the Isle of Thanet, containing the bones of Danes, and Saxons, slain in a battle on that coast.

The raising of Barrows over great men, according to antient primæval usage in the East, appears to have been entirely disused by the Romans. And even of others raised by them after battles, the accounts may be said, as to any certain evidence, to be nearly reduced to *two only*.

One, when Claudius Nero buried both his own soldiers, and those of the enemy, in one common grave, during the second Carthaginian war. In which instance, the words of Livy hardly amount to the description of a *Barrow*; though Dr. Borlase* concludes that one was formed on that occasion. For the words simply are, *+ cesorum hostium, et suorum corpora collata in unum sepeliri jussit.*

And the other instance was, when Cæsar Germanicus brought the first turf himself, to raise a tumulus over the remains of the unfortunate army of Varus. Concerning which, the words of the description are so elegant, that they deserve to be cited at length.

“Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, auctâ in hostem irâ, moesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum extruendo tumulo cespitem Cæsar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos, et præsentibus doloris Socius.”†

In this instance, a Barrow, or tumulus, was certainly raised by the Romans, over the vast quantity of bones of those who had been, six years before, slain with Varus, in Germany. But as there are hardly any other instances even of such Barrows thrown up by them after battles; so I do not know of one instance of a Barrow raised by the Romans, at any time, over any of their Generals, or Emperors.

As to the account given by Virgil, § of the Barrow raised over the ashes of Pallas; if the description was not merely an imitation of Homer's description of the Barrow raised over the ashes of Patroclus, it at least related to times much more antient than the founding

* Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 212. + Livy, lib. xxvii. sect. 42.

† Taciti Annalium lib. i. sect. 62.

§ Æneidos, lib. xi. ver. 207.

of Rome: and, after all, was a Barrow not raised by *Aeneas*, and his followers (though *Aeneas* might very well be supposed to have brought some such usage from Troy); but was raised by *Evander*, and the *Tuscans*.

We therefore may deem ourselves well warranted in the conclusion, that there were no Barrows raised, as particular monuments of their Illustrious Commanders, by the Romans, any where; and therefore unquestionably not in this country.

And as to the Saxons, and Danes;—we know, that when they became Christians, most of their Kings, and great men, were buried in Abbeys, and in the precincts of religious houses; as the bones of their greatest monarchs were preserved at *Hyde Abbey*; and are, indeed, many of them, to this hour, in chests, at Winchester. And before the conversion of those people (except merely in the case of *Hengist* in Yorkshire, and of *Hubba* in Devonshire); there is not any one instance, that has come to my knowledge, of a satisfactory traditionary record, concerning any Barrow belonging to the grave of any one of their Kings.

But as to the Britons; we not only know that they did actually raise Barrows, and Cairns, over their Druids, and Chieftains: but in this instance, as well as in others, relating to their fortresses, and to their superstitious rites, we find plainly they did so, in consequence of adopting a similarity of usage with those nations, and countries, in the East, from whence they originally first migrated; just as did the antient Grecian, and Syrian people.

It may, therefore, justly become a regular mode of investigating the history of these awful Remains of the fleeting transitoriness of all human greatness, however estimated, or wherever dwelling; to consider, as a prelude to our inquiries, the dismal efforts, which in the earliest periods, and in the first inhabited parts of the world were exerted, to cause human greatness, if possible, to survive its certain wreck.

Besides the Barrow under which are said to have been buried the bones and ashes of *Patroclus*, and *Achilles*; (the manner of raising which is so particularly described by Homer, and has been fully mentioned in the former part of these observations; * and which is

* P. 127.

still existing; we find, moreover, one called that of *Hecuba*; and another, that of *Antilochus*, the son of *Nestor*; which were certainly the Barrows either of those very persons; or at least of persons who had lived in the very earliest ages, long before the days of *Alexander*. We find also the Barrow of *Halyattes*, King of *Lydia*, with many others near *Sardes*; and several others in *Greece*;—all still existing.

And if these, of such vast and high antiquity, are yet in being, in so perfect a state; preserving their original appearance, and form; it need not be a matter of surprise to us, that those of the aboriginal Britons still remain. Nor need we have recourse to conjectures without foundation, of their being raised by marauding Danes, or Saxons; neither of whom, during their plunderings, could hardly have stayed long enough in a place, to erect such mighty works, as some of those are, that have been attributed to their labours.

The Barrow said to be that of *Patroclus* and *Achilles*, with some others near adjoining, are thus described by *Dr. Ghandler*; who surveyed them in their present state.

“Early in the morning we descended the slope, on which *Sigéum* stood.* After walking eight minutes we came between two *Barrows*, standing each in a vineyard, or inclosure. One was that of *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; the other, which was on our right hand, that of *Antilochus*, son of *Nestor*. This had a fragment or two of white marble on the top, which I ascended: as had also another, not far off, which, if I mistake not, was that of *Peneleus*, one of the leaders of the *Boeotians*, who was slain by *Eurypylus*. We had likewise in view the *Barrow* of *Ajax Telamon*; and at a distance from it, on the side next *Lectos*, that of *Æsytes*, mentioned in *Homer*.”

The fragments of marble found here, on the tops of the Barrows of *Antilochus*, and *Peneleus*, deserve our attention: because they plainly shew, that *here* were placed rude marble pillars, similar to that which was erected on the Barrow of *Ilus*, which has been already so particularly taken notice of.

And because we have also reason to think there was formerly such

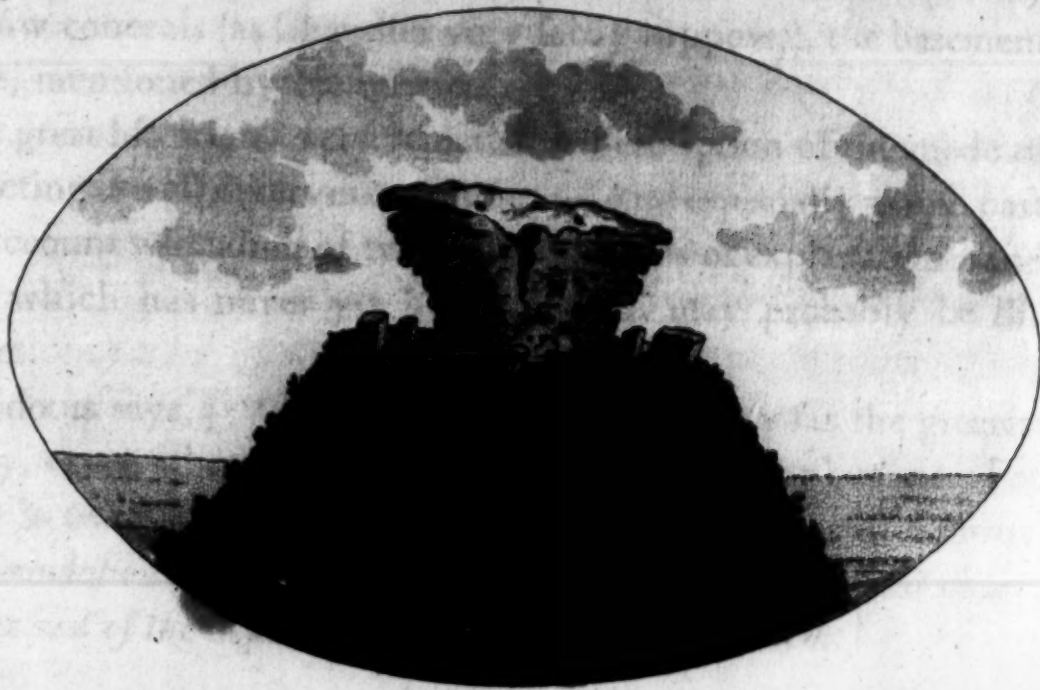
* Travels in Asia Minor, Vol. I. p. 42.

+ P. 126.

F.1.



F.2.



F.1. Barrow near Tullagh, in Caterlogh in Ireland.
F.2. Aggleston Stone Barrow, on the Isle of Purbeck.

an one on the Barrow of Achilles: inasmuch as Plutarch tells us,* that Alexander poured oil on *the stone pillar* of the grave of Achilles; when he had passed the Hellespont, on his way into Persia.

The Barrow of Hecuba, Chandler says,† is still very conspicuous, near one of the castles of the Hellespont.

And the same curious and intelligent traveller observed, before the antient *Sardes*, on the opposite side of the plain, *many Barrows*, on an eminence,‡ some of which are seen afar off.

And at the distance of five miles from thence, by the antient *Gygæa*, where was the burying place of the Lydian Kings, he saw many more *Barrows*, of various sizes; four or five of which were distinguished by their superior magnitude. All of them covered with green turf, and retaining, as far as he could examine them, their conical form, without any sinking in at top.

They are all placed on an eminence.—And on the same rising ground, near the middle, and towards *Sardes*, is most remarkably conspicuous, the vast monument, or Barrow, of Halyattes, the father of Croesus. Where the mold, which has been washed down by time, now conceals (as Chandler very fairly supposes), the basement of stone, mentioned by Herodotus.

That great historian's very remarkable description of the mode of constructing it well deserves our notice.—And especially as one part of his account will admit of two different kinds of explanation: and as that which has never yet been adopted, may probably be the true one.

Herodotus says, § “ Lydia exhibits one work, by far the greatest “ of any, except the works of the Egyptians and Babylonians. For “ there is *there*, the Sepulchre of Halyattes, the father of Croesus. “ *The foundation of which* (or the bottom part), *ἡ κρηπις*, is of great stones; “ but the rest of the Sepulchre *χωμα γῆς*, a tumulus of earth.”

* In his life of Alexander, p. 283, in the Florence edition, printed A. D. 1517; where we find the Greek word used, is actually *στήλην*. Dryden's translation therefore is very lax and indescriptive, when he says, Vol. VI. p. 25, merely that Alexander anointed the Monument of Achilles, and with his friends, as the antient custom was, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands.

† Travels in Asia Minor, Vol. I. p. 14.

‡ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 260.

§ Herodotus, ed. Wesselingii, lib. i. 93. p. 47.

Here we have, surely, in the first place, an exact description of what perfectly resembles a large British, or Irish Barrow.

We have also some intimation, in the next place, of the probable existence of a *passage*, and *Kistvaen*, or small room, under the foundation of great stones; designed for the reception of the bones and ashes; and formed of large rude stones, as in some of our Barrows; and both covered, and surrounded with other large stones. Over which there was then, a vast tumulus, or mount of earth, heaped up very high.

And the historian, after this, goes on, and says, (as has hitherto been apprehended,) "that the artificers, the labourers, and the girls "who were prostituted for hire, constructed it. And even to my "days, are remaining five *termini*,* on the top of the Sepulchre; having letters inscribed, recording what each had performed. And "on a measurement it appeared, that the work of the girls was the "most considerable.—The circuit, or circumference, of this Sepulchre is six stadia, and two plethra (that is, a little more than three "quarters of a mile); and the breadth is thirteen plethra."

But in translating the whole in this manner, there seems to be no small difficulty as to the word *οὐροί*; which is translated *termini*, or *rude boundary stones*; and also as to the words *γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαστο*; which are translated *letters were inscribed*. For, indeed, it is only by a particular mode of *accenting*,† that *Οὐρός* can ever be put for *ὄρος terminus*, or *finis*—a *boundary*, or *limit*. And much more properly *Οὐρός* may mean *alveus*, or *fossa*, a *ditch*, or *artificial trench*; whilst, at the same time, the word *ἐνεκεκόλαστο*, in reality rather implies, that letters, or marks, were impressed, *by being stampd*, or *beaten in*, than by being *inscribed*, or *cut*. The expression, therefore, actually used by Herodotus, does not, in reality, at all agree with the idea of an inscription being cut on boundary stones; or on any stone monuments: but exactly agrees with that of rude characters, or marks, being stampd, or beaten into the side of a dry ditch (perhaps somewhat in the manner that those old memorials, the figures of the

* Littlebury translates the words, *five monuments*; but Mr. Beloe, whose translation of Herodotus is by far the best of any we have, fairly translates the words only *five termini*; leaving the precise meaning, as to what material they consisted of, uncertain.

† H. Stephens, Tom. II. p. 1464.

white horse, and of the *white-leaf cross*, are formed on the sides of certain chalk hills, in our own country.*

Herodotus then expressly says, it appeared, *by measuring*, that the work of the girls was the greatest. And we may observe it certainly would be so, in every respect, if their ditch was, as it should seem to have been, the outermost of five concentric ones, formed on the summit of this vast Barrow.

I should therefore be greatly inclined to translate the words of Herodotus as follows; taking them as they might appear before the invention of accents.

Του η κρηπις μεν εστι λιθων μεγαλων, το δε αλλο σημα, χωμα γης. εξεργασαντο δε μιν οι αγοραιοι ανθρωποι, και οι χειρωνακτες, και αι ενεργαζομεναι παιδισκαι. ουροι δε πεντε εοντες, ετι και ες εμε ησαν επι του σηματος ανω και σφι γραμματα ενεκεκολαπτο, τα εκαστοι εξεργασαντο και εφαινετο μετρομενον το των παιδισκεων εργον εον μεγαλινον.

“The bottom part of it was a mass of great stones; but the rest
“of the Sepulchre a tumulus of earth.—The men in civil life+ (or
“who exercised public offices), and the craftsmen (or mechanics),
“and the girls who were prostitutes,‡ reared this Sepulchre, each
“class by themselves.—And there were yet existing, even to my
“days, five ditches (or artificial trenches), upon the Sepulchre on
“the upper part; on which were stampt (or impressed) letters (or
“characters), shewing what each set had wrought. And, *on measur-*
“*ing*, it appeared that the work of the girls was the greatest.”

According to this translation, we find, this Sepulchre was (as Chandler indeed found it to be) a great Barrow, or artificial hill.

And, according to this translation of the whole, we are further informed, that it was raised over certain great Stones, which immediately covered the bones and ashes; whilst, at the top, were five

* The first in Berkshire; the latter in Buckinghamshire.—An account of both of which may be seen in Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 155, and 319.

+ *Αγοραιοι ανθρωποι*, surely means, properly, *men who frequented the forum*, FORENSES, *men concerned in public business*; much rather than *labourers*, or *men of mean occupations*. See H. Stephens, Tom. I. p. 27.

‡ Herodotus informs us a few lines further, that there was an horrible custom, among the *Lydians*, for all the young women to prostitute themselves, during one part of their lives; and by that means to procure their marriage portion.

great works, like ditches, or artificial trenches; somewhat in the manner of those of an antient *hill fortress*, surrounding the area on the summit. On the slopes of which ditches were rudely stamp'd, in *large characters, certain marks, or letters*, expressing how much of the work each of the several classes of people had performed.

And this account surely agrees much better with the rudeness of those early ages, than the idea of any regular *pillars*, or *carved stones*, with inscriptions engraved upon them. Which *pillars*, if such had really been what he intended to describe, the historian would rather have mentioned, by the proper word *Σηλαί*. By which the rude Pillars, on the Barrows of Ilus, and of Patroclus, and Achilles, are actually mentioned.

To proceed then with the consideration of such works of the primæval ages, in parts of the earth first inhabited, as were similar to our British Barrows.

Chandler saw in Greece, another Barrow, on the shore near *Ægina*;* which seems to have been the same with that seen by Pausanias in Adrian's time, when it had still remaining, upon its summit, a *rough Stone*.

There is also still remaining a most remarkable Barrow, on the plain of Marathon; which was in like manner taken notice of by Pausanias; and seems to have been that under which *the Athenians* were buried, after the celebrated battle with the Persians.—It is,† though so many centuries have elapsed since the time of Pausanias, a mount that still towers above the level of the plain.‡ It is of light fine earth, and has a bush or two growing on it. And from the summit is a most pleasant view of the country.

There are also some other Barrows in the adjacent region, near a part called *Brauron*, which may probably be some of those others mentioned by Pausanias, as belonging to other persons slain in this famous battle.

And it ought not to be forgotten, that when Laius had been slain at Phocis, in a sudden tumult,§ by his son *Œdipus*, stones were heaped over him, and those slain with him; which must have

* Travels in Greece, Vol. II. p. 14, 15. † Ibid. Vol. II. p. 165, 166.

‡ The well known, ingenious Mr. Reveley, made a very fine drawing of this Barrow upon the spot.

§ Diodorus, lib. iv. p. 185. Par. ed. 308. Westenii.

formed a kind of Cairn, or Stone Barrow, and seems to have existed in the days of Pausanias.*

Neither should it be forgotten, that when Tydeus, the father of Diomed, was slain, in the Theban war, he was buried by *heaping*, or *pouring out*, earth upon him; that is, by means of forming a Barrow, or tumulus over him.†

Τυδέος, ὃν Θῆβαι χυτὴν κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε.

So, the Sepulchre of Lycus, near Sicyone, was a Barrow of earth.‡

And even so late as in the time of Alexander, his friend Hephestion (like Patroclus the friend of Achilles), was buried under a Barrow.—Justin says, § that Alexander raised a *tumulus* over him, at the expence of twelve thousand talents. And from the manner in which Quintus Curtius speaks of it, || we may clearly perceive that such a kind of interment was then become, even in those days, which we now deem so early, somewhat unusual.

So also, if Xenophon's History of Cyrus is to be relied on as containing real facts; when Abradates and Panthea were honoured by that conqueror with distinguished marks of respect; on the interment of that unhappy pair (Panthea having killed herself, that she might be interred in the same grave with her husband), a great tumulus of earth was raised over them; Cyrus having before promised Panthea, *that such a monument should be reared by many hands, and that such victims should be sacrificed, as were becoming the memory of a brave man.***

In the most antient, Eastern parts of the world, first inhabited, we find accounts of the observance of the same aboriginal custom.

For Ives informs us, ++ that not far from the Courdistan and Sanjack mountains, between Mesopotamia and Assyria, is a small mount, containing the tomb (or Sepulchre) of Geraza, an antient Sage. And in another plain, between the *Courdistan*, and *Sanjack* mountains, are eight or ten mounts, which in shape resemble some others near *Kircoote*, and *Arvele*, (supposed to be the antient *Arbela*.)

* Pausanias in Phocicis, cap. v. p. 808. + Iliad. lib. xiv. ver. 114. Nothing surely can be more lax, or erroneous, than Pope's translation of this line:—viz. that Tydeus, *Lies whelmed in ruins of the Theban wall*.—Iliad, book xiv. ver. 128. ‡ Pausanias, p. 126. § Justin, lib. xii. cap. 12. || Quintus Curtius, lib. x. cap. 4.

** Cyropedia, lib. vii. p. 507. Hutch. ed.

++ Ives's Travels, p. 335, 316.

The custom seems also to have been carried Eastward, in the earliest ages, even as far as China: and (as all customs of their ancestors are there revered) to have been preserved, in a degree, even to this day: for we are told, in the accounts which we have of that country,* that mountains and solitary places far from towns, are chosen for the seat of the tombs and sepulchres of the great: and if a tomb is erected in a valley, or plain, a vast heap of earth is accumulated over it, to the height of a mount. Whilst the tomb itself is an arched vault, about the size of an ordinary cottage, so covered with plaister that no moisture can penetrate.

Nor ought the pyramids of Egypt to be forgotten on this occasion. For there can hardly remain a doubt in the minds of those who fairly reflect upon the whole of their construction, and upon their situation, and numbers, but that these pyramids were merely one degree more of a little refined improvement beyond the more aboriginal Barrows of that country, that had existed in the very first rude ages. And that they were substituted in the room of such, in consequence of the introduction of vast power, and of its concomitant magnificence bursting forth here, sooner than in other regions of the world.

Dr. Shaw† indeed fancied, that the pyramids of Gize were designed for Temples; and for the exercise of superstitious Pagan rites. And there might perhaps have been some foundation for such an idea, if there had been only one or two, or a few pyramids in different places; and those open, and by any means accessible. But as we find not only the three great pyramids at Gize, but also a fourth not far distant, all entirely closed, except the one which has been forced open; and find also remains of many small ones near, that have been destroyed;—and find others so numerous at Sakarra, or Saccara, and Dagjour;—there can remain no doubt, but that they were intended for Sepulchres.

And indeed we may be well assured, that they were formerly more numerous still. For if those two vast pyramids, which were seen by Herodotus standing in the midst of the lake of *Maris*; and

* This agrees with the accounts of *Du Halde*, and *Nieuhof*, and is particularly mentioned in a Voyage to the East Indies in 1747. 8vo. p. 191.

† Shaw's Travel, p. 370. 4to.

which were 200 cubits (that is, 50 fathom, or 300 feet) above the surface of the water,* be now so utterly destroyed, that nothing is to be seen of them at present, but two banks like islands; + how much rather may many other smaller ones have been demolished, as well as those † which were near the great ones that still remain at Gize, and at Sakarra.

The pyramids of *Saccara*, we have every reason to believe, were of higher antiquity than those of Gize. And they seem manifestly to have been the first rude improvement of the antient Barrow, formed by rearing such vast pyramidal piles, either of stone, or of brick; instead of heaping up conical mounds of earth.

Indeed Pococke says, § some of them look more like hillocks cased with stone, than like pyramids.

And Herodotus expressly tells us of a vast pyramid, formed by heaping up bricks, made of clayey mud, and straw; and piled up in this manner. And even describes the process observed in its construction, on the authority of an antient inscription. A process which cannot avoid impressing upon our minds an idea of the manner in which the antient Egyptians improved the peculiar soil of their country; for the purpose not only of rearing these sepulchral trophies of magnificence; but for constructing the walls of many of their cities; and also those artificial mounds, on which several of their cities and towns themselves were placed. ||

The process was; that striking the bottom of the lake *Mæris*, with long poles, they collected the mire and mud that adhered to them; and of that formed the bricks.**

The great false pyramid of Meduun, as it is called, made of bricks, and standing amongst those of Dagjour, and Sakarra, seems to have been constructed of just such materials. And is described, both by Norden ++ and Pococke. ††

And Shaw §§ mentions others that had been made of bricks: and

* Herodotus, lib. ii. 149. p. 177. ed. Wesselingii.

+ Pococke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 65.

‡ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 41.

§ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 50.

|| Ibid. Vol. I. p. 21, 22, 23.

** Herodotus, lib. ii. 136. p. 170. ed. Wesselingii.

++ See Norden, Vol. II. Pl. LXVI, LXVII. p. 81. 84; and Vol. II. p. 10.

†† Pococke, Vol. I. p. 53. Pl. XIX.

§§ Shaw's Travels, p. 136. 4to. ed.

says, the straw which keeps these bricks together, seems to be a proof that they were never *burnt*, or made in kilns.

Whilst, therefore, we make this observation; it cannot escape the attention of the curious, that we have perhaps here, somewhat of an elucidation of the manner in which some part of the revenue of Egypt was originally produced.—The payment of a certain tale of such bricks, from the mud of the overflowings of the Nile, being most probably, as regular an impost, as the payment of a certain portion of corn, from the produce of the land. A circumstance which greatly illustrates the whole of the very interesting piece of sacred history, that we have in the book of Exodus concerning the Israelites; and concerning the unjust exaction of bricks: such, being perhaps an unreasonable, oppressive, increase of what had once been indeed a part of revenue; but was now so exacted, from the Israelites, as to reduce them to be mere hard labourers, and bondmen.

Towards the North, we find most curious Remains of the observance of this custom, of raising vast mounts, or Barrows, over their dead, from time immemorial.

Strahlenberg tells us,* that vast numbers of *Tumuli*, called by the Russians *Bogri*, are found in Siberia, and in the deserts which border on that country southwards. And that in these tombs are found many plates, and ornaments, and trinkets of gold.

These graves, or Sepulchres, he says, are of different structures. Some are only raised up of earth as high as houses, and placed so near together, and in such numbers, in the spacious plains, that, at a distance, they appear like a ridge of hills. Others are *set round, with rough hewn stones* (of which Strahlenberg has given us some representations, that much resemble some of our rude Druidical Stones, erected upon, or near to Barrows).

Others are entirely built, or formed, of stones (and therefore were obviously what we now call *Cairns*). These Barrows are in the antient maps of Tartary, called the Pyramidal Sepulchres of the Tartarian Kings. And their vast antiquity appears, from the construction of the weapons found in them, especially the swords; which were not forged, but cast, of copper, and shaped like our

* Strahlenberg's Description of the North and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia, p. 325. 330. 364.

bayonets: and still more from a very curious circumstance, mentioned by a Swede, who was long in captivity in the city of *Jenisei*; that the ambassadors of the *Chinese Tartars*, in the last century, in their return home, passing through that city, desired leave of the then Governor, to visit (these tombs, as) the graves of *their* ancestors; but it was refused them (says Strahlenberg),* not improbably, because they would have found almost all of them opened, and rifled.†

In short, there is no tradition concerning the time of their construction; and they seem to have been the very Sepulchres, which were deemed antient, even in the time of Darius; when on inquiring of the Scythians (the inhabitants of these very regions), why they so continually retreated before him from the part of the country wherever he was?—they answered,‡ that they lost nothing by giving way, having neither towns, nor cultivated lands; *but that they had Sepulchres of their fathers, which, if he should find, and attempt to disturb THEM, he would then know whether they could fight or not.*

These Sepulchres, and the treasures discovered in these latter days to have been concealed in them, are also particularly described by Bell,§ in his Travels; who says, that in a large, dry, and open plain, about eight or ten days journey from Tomsky, are found many tombs, and burying places of antient heroes. These tombs are easily distinguished by the mounds of earth and stones raised upon them.

In short, it appears from all the accounts given to us, that they most exactly resemble the kind of Sepulchres described by Herodotus, as being constructed on the interment of the Scythian Kings; many of which were antient even in his days, and therefore must have been aboriginal indeed.

Herodotus tells us || (if we fairly extract the substance of his account), that they placed the body in a Sepulchre, or a sort of bed; fixing spears both on this side and on that side; and that they

* P. 366. † Before the Czars of Russia were acquainted with the riches of these tombs, the Governors of the cities of *Tara*, *Tomskoi*, and of some others, used to give leave to the inhabitants of those cities to go in voluntary caravans to plunder the tombs, on condition of sharing in the spoil. Strahlenberg, p. 365.

‡ Herodotus, lib. iv. 127. p. 336. ed. Wesselingii. § Journey to Pekin, Vol. I. p. 209. || Herodotus, lib. iv. 71. p. 313. ed. Wesselingii.

formed a roof, or covering over it; and in the ample space around, they placed one of his concubines strangled, and also, some of his officers, and some of his horses, and also vessels of gold (because silver and brass are not used amongst them); and then with great care and diligence they heaped up earth upon the whole; and raised a mound, or tumulus, as high as they could.

With this description, the appearance, both within and without, of one of the largest of these Tumuli, or Barrows, that was opened by order of the Russian court, agreed as nearly as possible.

We have an exact relation of what was found, on that occasion, in the *Archaeologia*.*

The Barrow, like many of ours in this country, had the appearance of a great conical artificial mount, or hill. And after removing a part of this, that formed a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults (as they are called), which were manifestly, as appears from their form and figure, mere *Kistvaens*, or small square cells, or chambers, with flat coverings, constructed of rude rough stones. In one, which was placed in the centre, and was the largest of the three, were deposited the remains of the prince; distinguished easily, by the sword, spear, bow, quiver, and arrows, which lay beside the body.

In the cell, or vault beyond him, at his feet, were the bones of his horse; with his bridle, saddle, and stirrups.

And in a cell, or vault of smaller dimensions than the prince's; and placed at his head; lay the body of the princess, or concubine, distinguished by her female ornaments.—She was placed in a reclining posture against the wall, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies, round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breast, and arms, in other respects appeared to have been left naked; but the body was covered with a rich robe, only without any border of gold or jewels. It was laid upon a sheet of fine gold, and covered over with another of the same precious metal.

And, in like manner, the body of the prince lay in a reclining posture, on a sheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot; and

* Vol. II. p. 224. Pl. XIV.—The account is given in a letter from Petersburg, sent to Mr. Peter Collinson; of which I have here, shortly, extracted the substance.

had another sheet of gold, of the like dimensions, spread over him. He was wrapt in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. But there was no ornament upon his head, neck, breast, or arms.

The four sheets of gold weighed forty pounds. And the robes of both bodies looked fair, and complete; but upon touching crumbled into dust.

In a subsequent Memoir, in the *Archaeologia*, a conclusion is drawn, that this Sepulchre was not older than the year 1294, and was subsequent to the time of Genghiz-khan. But as that conclusion is founded, merely upon the appearance of some letters, cut upon the pedestal of the figure of a tiger in silver; and upon the imagination that the conquests of Genghiz-khan, who had the plunder of a great part of the East, would best account for the riches found in this Sepulchre; it surely is not easily to be assented to. For it appears that the silver tiger was not found in this Barrow; but in another, which had no immediate connection with it; and therefore, from the letters on the pedestal of that silver tiger, no conclusion can fairly be formed on this occasion. And as to the plates of gold, and other rich ornaments, discovered in this great Barrow; surely what is expressly asserted by Herodotus, will better account for the whole, than a supposition of the gold being apparent remains of the plunder of Genghiz-khan.*

Herodotus positively affirms, that vessels of gold were interred with the bodies of the Scythian Kings, and that they actually had, even in those antient days, such plenty of gold in Scythia, that silver and other metals were of no account. To which I cannot but add, that a very curious fact lately brought to light, somewhat explains this matter. And shews at least whence they might have obtained some of their gold: in regions, to which it was very possible for them to have access.—Concerning this fact I received information from that most inquisitive, intelligent, and accurate geographer, Major Rennell; who obtained the account from an eye witness, that had lately traversed those regions. And this fact is, that in a tract of country, running from the parts of Mount Taurus,

* Herodotus, lib. iv. 71. p. 115. ed. Wesselingii.

formed a roof, or covering over it; and in the ample space around, they placed one of his concubines strangled, and also, some of his officers, and some of his horses, and also vessels of gold (because silver and brass are not used amongst them); and then with great care and diligence they heaped up earth upon the whole; and raised a mound, or tumulus, as high as they could.

With this description, the appearance, both within and without, of one of the largest of these Tumuli, or Barrows, that was opened by order of the Russian court, agreed as nearly as possible.

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* Herodotus, lib. iv. 71. p. 113. ed. Wesselingii.

near where the Euphrates begins to be navigable, northwards through Tartary, into Siberia, there are still most astonishing remains of mines, which contain gold, as well as silver, and other metals; but which are not now worked; because all the timber in the neighbouring countries has been utterly exhausted. Consistently also with all these accounts, we are told by M. de Stehlin,* that amongst the Mongul Tartars there were hords, called the *Iolotaja hords*, or *hords of gold*; from the abundance of that metal, and other riches found amongst them.

Hence, therefore, we may be convinced, that great treasures of gold and silver, might exist in Tartary, in the most antient times;† and long before the conquests of Genghiz-khan. And as, (consistently with their reply to Darius,) the Scythians had neither towns, nor cultivated land, nor indeed any commerce; those riches must necessarily have been confined to, and appeared in the ornaments of their persons, and tents, and accoutrements; and therefore would often be buried in their Sepulchres; and must ever, in consequence of all these circumstances, have appeared more vast than it really was.

Of these very antient Scythian Barrows, concerning which we have been speaking, there are some that are 30 Russian toises in circumference; some 50; and some 100; and even so large as 500. Their altitudes also are from 5 toises, to 20; and even to 30 toises,‡ or 210 feet: each Russian toise measuring 7 English feet. So that they are evidently just as various in their magnitudes as our British Barrows. And the matters found in those of small dimensions, are *there, as here*, in general merely rotten, or burnt bones, with arrow, and spear heads, and other pieces of weapons.

The vast antiquity of these kind of Barrows, in the primitive parts

* Counsellor of state, and secretary to the academy of sciences at Petersburg, in one of his Memoirs.

† It is possible, that in future ages, when the navigation of the Euphrates shall no longer be impeded by the severe band of Turkish government, and by want of improvement; that these mines, either by the exportation of their contents, or the importation of fuel, may still become a source of prodigious, and useful commerce.

‡ See a very curious account by Governor Pownall in the *Archaeologia*, from particulars communicated to him by Mons. de Stehlin, Vol. II. p. 262.

of the earth, appears from one having been made use of as an *old* landmark, even in the time of Homer; which that father of poets calls the Tomb, or Sepulchre of Æpytus,* and describes as being situated on mount Cyllene in Arcadia. Which Barrow, Pausanias, who saw it many ages afterwards, says,† is a tumulus of earth, of no great size, surrounded at the foot, or base, with a circle of stones.

It appears also, from what Diodorus Siculus relates,‡ on the authority of Ctesias, concerning the supposed Sepulchre of *Ninus*, raised by *Semiramis*; which was a vast tumulus of earth, 9 stadia in height, and 10 in breadth; according to his account. And although these dimensions, like those given by Herodotus concerning the Barrow of Halyattes, seem to be mentioned in an exaggerated manner; unless there has been some mistake in the figures in the copies, or unless the stadium was a smaller measure than is generally apprehended; yet, without doubt, we have here an instance of a vast Barrow being formed, in the very first ages concerning which history pretends to preserve any records.

And indeed, as on other occasions, we find constantly in the Holy Scriptures, some traces, in what is related concerning the Israelites, of such primæval customs as were derived from the first ancestors of mankind, and were from thence adopted in common by the most antient and aboriginal inhabitants in various parts of the earth; so here also; in the construction of *Cairns*, and *great Barrows*; although the Israelites themselves were, by their law, directed most carefully to avoid the adopting, in their own manners, the customs of the Gentile nations, in superstitious ceremonials; yet we may perceive (from what was practised on certain occasions, where the decease of some particular persons was to be in an especial manner remembered), that they were not at all unacquainted with this usage.

For, when the King of Ai was slain, his carcass was cast (or placed on the ground), at the entering of the gate of the city, (or near unto the gate of the city,) and thereon was raised *a great heap of stones*.§

* Iliad. lib. ii. ver. 604.

† Lib. viii. cap. 16.

‡ Lib. ii. p. 67, of the Paris ed.; and p. 120. Westerii.

§ Joshua, chap. viii. ver. 29.

So, when the five Kings who warred against Gibeon were taken, after they had fled and hid themselves in a cave at *Makkedah*;^{*} (which, from the whole tenour of the account, seems plainly to have been of the same kind with that wherein Josephus, so many ages afterwards, endeavoured to conceal himself from the forces of Vespasian; and of the same kind with those, in still later ages, formed by the Britons near Crayford, which are fully described in the former part of these sheets);⁺ when these five Kings had been brought forth out of this cave, or pit, and had been hanged, by the command of Joshua, their bodies were afterwards cast into the same cave, *and great stones were laid upon the cave's mouth (i. e. on the mouth of the narrow pit leading down to it), which remained for ages.*

So again, in the instance, of a most tremendous punishment, inflicted upon Achan, for setting an example of most wilful disobedience to a positive command of Almighty God, on the very first entrance of the people of Israel into the Promised Land; we are told, they burned him, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, with fire, after they had stoned them with stones. And they raised over him *a great heap of stones.*[†]

And when Absalom was slain, many ages after; they took him, and cast him into a great pit in the wood,[§] and *laid a very great heap of stones upon him.* There must, therefore, have remained in that spot, an exceeding great Cairn; which being in time covered with soil and grass, would have just the appearance of one of our large Barrows.

The usage of rearing these kind of Sepulchres, being then of such exceeding high antiquity, it is no wonder that we find it to have been practised by the *first* settlers, every where; who having branched off from the most antient nations, had been led by various events to take up their residence in very remote parts of the earth.

Accordingly, even in America we find traces of this practice.

For a circumstance mentioned by Colden, concerning some of the interments of the Indians of the five nations, bears a very strong resemblance to what we have been describing as to the antient customs of the aboriginal Scythians.

^{*} Joshua, chap. x. ver. 16. 18. 22, 23, 24. 27.

⁺ See p. 47.

[†] Joshua, chap. vii. ver. 24, 25, 26.

[§] 2 Samuel, chap. 18. ver. 17.

They make a large round hole, he says,* in which the body can be placed upright, or upon its haunches, which, after the corpse is placed therein, is covered with timber, to support the earth which they lay over it; and thereby they keep the body free from being pressed. *They then raise the earth, in a round hill, over it.* They always dress the corpse in all its finery, and put wampum, and other things, into the grave with it.

So, in Frezier's Voyage,+ we have an account of the tombs of the Indians in Peru, before the invasion of the Spaniards, that bears a distant resemblance both to the customs we have been describing, and to the conversion of plain Barrows, or Tumuli, into pyramids; which change was so much more completely effected by the Egyptians.

In travelling through the country, he says, there are still to be seen many tombs, even of those before the conquest by the Spaniards. They are above the ground, built with *unburnt bricks*, and round, 5 or 6 feet in diameter; ‡ and 12 or 14 in height; arched like the top of an oven; in which the dead were placed sitting, and were then walled up.

And as these pyramidal Sepulchres, in *Peru*, are formed of unburnt bricks; (as indeed are very many of the pyramids near Saccara in Egypt, §) so, even in those same Deserts of Siberia, and Tartary, where the great Barrows we have been describing are met with, there are also found others, entirely built up of stone; ||

* History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, p. 16.

+ Frezier's Voyage to the South Sea, p. 178.

‡ Whoever well considers these dimensions, will perceive that Frezier must probably have meant to speak only of the structure of the cavity, or vault within.

§ Norden's Travels, Vol. I. p. 81.—Pococke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 49, 53.—The bricks of which these pyramids were built, formed of chopped straw, and dried and hardened in the sun, were some $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet long; $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; and 4 inches thick. And others 15 inches long; and 7 inches broad; and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. They were plainly, therefore, of no determinate measure; and remind us very much of the bricks said to be made by the children of Israel, during their bondage, and oppression in Egypt.**

I must add, that Dampier, in his Travels, Vol. I. p. 139, informs us, that some of the Indians in America, make brick for their houses, of earth and straw kneaded together, and dried in the sun.

And that Le Bruyn, in his Travels, Vol. IV. p. 61. mentions buildings in Persia, of bricks made with clay and chopped straw, and dried by the sun. || Strahlenberg, p. 365.

** Exodus, chap. i. ver. 14.—chap. v. ver. 7.

which are, therefore, in appearance, a sort of rude rough pyramids; and are in the antient maps of Tartary, with still more propriety than the others, called *the Pyramidal Sepulchres of the Tartarian Kings*.

And to return nearer home; most surely, very similar to these, are the great stone Cairns mentioned by Armstrong, as still existing in the island of *Minorca*; where we have every reason to believe *the Celtes*, descended from the same common ancestors with the aboriginal Britons, existed in the earliest ages; and where so many remains are found, similar to the Druidical Stones that were reared in this country.

Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the *Balleares*, says,* "that pressing together the limbs of a dead body with boards,† they cast it into a hollowed receptacle (or cavity), and place over it a large heap of stones." And accordingly we actually find in *Minorca*, many great Cairns, or conical heaps of great rough stones, piled up even to the height of fourscore or 90 feet.‡ And on one side of these, is often found, at the base, the entrance of a cavity, or narrow gallery, which seems to have led originally to the rude vault, or receptacle for the dead, in the centre.

The same sort of *Celtic* people also, derived from the same common ancestors, carried the same customs into the northern parts of Europe; into Denmark, and Sweden; whence it comes to pass, that there is so great a similarity between the great Barrows, and the Stone Circles, of those countries, and those in Britain, that some persons have too hastily been led to conclude, that such works in this country were, in general, the works of Danish invaders.

Torfæus, § and Stephanus, inform us, that *Odin* introduced into those northern regions the custom of burning the dead, and of putting the most valuable things of the deceased into the grave with

* Lib. v. 207. p. 344. ed. Wesselingii. † The expressions made use of in the Greek are very remarkable, and may be allowed rather to convey the idea of a sort of coffin of wood, being deposited in a Kistvaen, or stone chest, or vault; than that of the body being pounded, or beaten with clubs, and then crammed into an urn.—Συγκάψαντες ξύλοις τὰ μέλη τῆς σώματος, εἰς ἀγλεῖον ἐμβάλλουσι, καὶ λίθους δαψιλεῖς ἐπιτίθεισιν.

‡ Armstrong's History of Minorca, p. 215. § Ser. Dynast. Reg. Dan. cap. vi. p. 130. 144. 8vo.

their ashes; and (this grave, with the ashes, and urn, being placed in the middle of a circular area), they covered it up with great stones; and heaped stones, and earth, and turf, over it, in form of a mount, or hill.

The same is said also to have been the form and construction of the antient *Cimbrian Sepulchres*.*

There are numbers of these kind of Barrows in Denmark,† and Sweden; in Russia; and in Poland. And still more particularly, we are told, by *Wormius*, that two brothers, petty princes in Naumdhall, employed themselves for successive years, with very expensive labour, in erecting one of these Sepulchral Barrows. Which piece of history alone plainly shews, how impossible it was for Danish invaders in Britain, and Ireland, to raise those vast Sepulchral mounts that have been so hastily attributed to them.

In Sweden, we are told,‡ there are three vast Barrows, near *old Upsal*, which still retain the name of *the King's Cairns*, or *Cairns—Kongs Hoaarn*.—One of these is 75 steppings high. There are also, in that neighbourhood, very many others of smaller dimensions.

In the road through Lower Saxony also, *Brown* says, § he could not but take notice of many *Barrows*, or *Mounts of earth*; the burial monuments of great and famous men; such as are to be often observed in open countries in England.

Having, by this great variety of instances, shewn how plainly this custom of heaping up vast Barrows of stones, and earth, over the illustrious dead, may be traced from the very earliest ages, and from the inhabitants of those countries, which were first cultivated on the face of the earth; and how evidently it has been preserved in so many other countries, by the *first* settlers, most immediately derived from those common ancestors; and especially when they have been secluded from much intercourse with the rest of the world; and how truly it has been preserved by such aboriginal people only; we may now safely venture to reason more closely; and to draw some satisfactory conclusions, concerning the *Cairns*, and *Barrows*, in this island, and also in Ireland:—and on examining the

* Remarks on the Cimbrian Antiquities in Holstein.—Hamburgh, 1728. p. 154.

† Monumenta Dan. lib. i. cap. 6.

‡ Monumenta Sueo-Gothica,

lib. i. p. 215. 217. § *Brown's Travels through Germany*, p. 146. 4to.

plain descriptions of a few, we shall perceive, that they must have been the works of the Britons here, and, in all probability, of the very first inhabitants of Ireland, in that island; and prior to the invasion of the Danes in either; though, indeed, they are so similar to the works of that people, in their own northern regions.

There is one in Ireland, which has been opened by accident, in such a part as to shew its exact interior structure: and has been repeatedly, and carefully, examined: and which so completely corresponds with the accounts we have of the Asiatic Barrows of Patroclus, and of Halyattes, and with the accounts of the Tartarian Barrows of the Scythian Kings, that in reading the accounts of the one, we even seem to be reading an account of the other.

It has been examined, and described very particularly, by Dr. Molineux,* with the assistance of a gentleman of the same name;—by Mr. Wright,† the author of the *Louthiana*;—and by Governor Pownall:‡—and as the account given by the Governor is far the fullest, and most accurate of any, I shall beg leave to extract principally from thence, and very briefly, such particulars, as it is on this occasion needful to mention.

This prodigious Barrow is situated in the county of Meath, within four miles of Drogheda. Its altitude is about 70 feet; and its diameter about 320; and it covers about two acres of ground. It is formed, not of earth, but of pebble, or coggle stones, of a kind which shew they must have been brought from the mouth of the Boyne, at the distance of twelve or fourteen miles; a circumstance that is alone a proof how vast a multitude of people, and how great a space of time, must have been employed to rear this astonishing heap; and that it could not be the work of mere invaders, or of any people but such as had uninterrupted possession. It was encircled formerly, at the base, with a number of enormous unhewn stones set upright, (nine or ten of which were remaining very lately;) and there was one also of considerable bulk erected on the summit: just as we may recollect was the case, on the Sepulchre of

* See the Philosophical Transactions, No. 335, and 336; and Boate's Natural History of Ireland, p. 202, 206, &c.; and Ware's History of Ireland, p. 147. In all of which are plans and representations of the whole.

† Louthiana, book i. p. 15. ‡ Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 236.

Ilus; and of others that we have mentioned to have been reared in the most antient times in Asia.

At the distance of forty feet, within the utmost limit of the base, was discovered, by accident, the mouth of a long narrow gallery, between 3 and 4 feet in width, and height; formed of rough large flag stones, some set on end, on each side, and others laid across to cover the top: one of which latter is no less than 13 feet long, and 5 broad; and another 11 feet long, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ wide. This gallery is about $61\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length; leading to a remarkable repository, or vault, at the end; where were found, when the cave was first opened, the bones of two bodies lying on the floor. At the distance of 13 feet from the entrance, the gallery is narrowed, so as to be only 2 feet, 2 inches wide, and to form a most difficult pass, (which cannot but remind a curious observer of the difficult pass at the end of the first gallery, in the great pyramid of Egypt.) After this, it becomes high enough to stand upright; and increasing in height, from 6 to 9 feet, conducts the visitor with ease to the vault, which is near 20 feet high.

This dome is nearly of a conical form; and cannot but remind us of what has been said concerning the repositories in the Indian Sepulchres.

It is of a very remarkable structure. The plan of it is a sort of rude irregular octagon, about 9 feet in diameter; with two wings or recesses, forming receptacles, or *Kistvaens*, to the east and west; and a third to the north; and having the entrance from the gallery on the south: which four open spaces do, therefore, occupy four sides of the octagon; whilst the remaining four sides are formed of large flag stones, about 6 feet high, and near 4 feet wide, set on end.

The conical, irregular dome over head, is formed manifestly without the least design of composing *an arch*, or really vaulted roof; and without the least knowledge of the mode of constructing any such thing; for it is formed merely by the *over-hanging*, or *over-lapping*, of the stones.—The setting in, or projection inwards, of the super-incumbent stones, begins at various heights, from 8 to 9 or 10 feet, on different sides. At the height of 15 or 16 feet; the north and south side of this coving run to a point like a gore; and the coving continues its spring with six sides: the east side coming to a point next; it is then reduced to five sides: the west closes

next ; and the whole ends and closes with four sides, not tied with a key-stone, but capped with a flat flag stone, covering a space only 3 feet 10 inches, by 3 feet 5. The whole is therefore obviously composed of great long flat stones laid one upon another, having the end of each upper one projecting a little beyond the end of that immediately under it, till at last only the small space was left, which is covered by the stone laid over the middle.

The side recesses are formed in as rude a manner as this central dome. That to the east, on the right hand of the entrance, is about 8 or 9 feet in length ; about 4 feet wide at the entrance ; and 6 at the further end : and has each of its sides composed of two upright stones, about 7 feet high ; has another, only 6 feet high, quite at the end ; and is covered with one large flat stone, which, from the inequality of its supporters, lies sloping. The northern recess is constructed in the same manner ; but is a little more than 4 feet wide at the entrance ; and 7 feet 9 inches at the further end ; whilst it is not above 6 feet in height.—The recess on the west side, or to the left of the entrance, is smaller than the others ; being not above 4 feet in length from its mouth, whilst it is above 7 feet wide, and 6 high : and its sides are formed each only of one stone set on end.

In the niche opposite to the entrance, is placed, on the floor, a long flat stone, 6 feet 8 inches long, by 4 feet 11 inches broad.

In the larger niche, which is on the right-hand side, stands a great stone oval bason, above 4 feet in diameter one way, and above 3 the other ; and this bason is placed on a stone, 6 feet, by 5 feet 4 inches, in its dimensions.

And in the smaller niche, or Kistvaen, on the left hand of the passage of entrance, is another stone bason ; of the same oval form, standing on the plain and original ground. Which bason is nearly of the same capacity with the other ; being 4 feet 4 inches, by 3 feet 7.

Whether these Basins were designed as urns, to contain bones and ashes ; or whether they were designed to contain victuals, and libations ; or to hold any supposed valuable effects deposited with the dead ; still we have in the whole of this sepulchral structure, something very similar to the tomb of Patroclus, and Achilles.

A repository for the body, or ashes of the person first interred ;—vessels of respect, and imaginary honour, for the holding something

interred with him ;—a long, narrow gallery, reaching from the central vault, to the external part of the base of the Tumulus, or Barrow, for the purpose of conveying into this Sepulchre, the bones, or ashes, of some friend, or relative, that should, after the first interment, be deposited there.—And, when this second interment was made (as it actually appears it was, by the bones of two bodies being found), the whole mass appears to have been again further enlarged, by increasing the dimensions of the external Tumulus, or Barrow, so much, that the very entrance of the gallery was inclosed at least 40 feet within the limit of the utmost base of the mount.

It only remains to add, that Governor Pownall observed here, on some of the stones, traces of a *spiral line* ;* and on one other stone, *deep indented marks*, which he took for antient Phœnician characters.—What these latter might be, I will not presume to say ; but I cannot forbear suspecting, that the former (like those on some of the Irish Cromleches), are neither more nor less than the fossil impressions of the *Cornu Ammonis*, so often met with, on various fragments of stone, both in Ireland, and in this country : which are, indeed, as it were medallie impressions, bearing testimony to astonishing changes on the face of the earth, and in the structure of this globe, long, long prior to the rearing of any Barrows, or to the existence of any Phœnician characters.

And I am the rather induced to harbour this suspicion, because the governor also found, on some of the stones, certain other lines, forming a *kind of trellis work, in small lozenges* ; which description exactly answers to the appearance of several fossil impressions, of the hard skins of fishes ; which I have seen on stones, from various parts, both in this country, and elsewhere.

Very similar to this great Barrow, in its external appearance ; (though not of such vast dimensions,) and most probably, very similar also to it, in its internal construction, is one that has been already mentioned, on account of its having a Stone Pillar placed on its summit, like the tomb of Ilus, in Asia Minor ; and which is represented Pl. XII. fig. 1.

* Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 225.

It is situated near Tullagh, in the county of Caterlogh, in Ireland. There is also said to be such a cavern as that at New Grange, under a very large Tumulus,* or Barrow, on the brow of an hill near *Douth* on the Boyne, in the county of Meath. And that this was coæval with the works of the aboriginal inhabitants, and with the rude age of Druidism in Britain, seems to be clearly pointed out to us, by a Circle of large unhewn stones, 21 feet in diameter, standing in the neighbourhood, with the remains of a Cromlech on its north side; and having, moreover, a large flat stone lying on the ground, before the entrance.

Thus we find, as we approach nearer home, that the resemblance between our great Barrows, and those with regard to the construction of which, in the earliest ages, in Asia, there are most undoubted records, is so exceedingly strong, that they have a much nearer affinity to those works, though so remote from them, than to any works in these parts, concerning which, we have any tradition that can be relied upon. For nothing can be more vague, and unsatisfactory, than the common account usually given, of their being Danish works; which account has taken its rise, merely from the hasty opinions of those who first began to investigate these matters, as deserving attention, in these latter ages. We may, therefore, from such strong resemblance between primæval, and nearly Patriarchal customs in the East, and these aboriginal works in Ireland, and Britain, in the West; much more rationally infer, that these Sepulchral Barrows, are almost without exception, the works of the first race of settlers in these countries; who retained primæval customs, and usages, till they were disturbed and driven out of them (as well as out of their possessions), by the Romans, and other invaders; and were converted to a different mode of life, and manners, by the embracing of Christianity.

And we may the rather draw this conclusion, because we are told, both by *Cæsar*, and *Pomponius Mela*,+ that the Gauls, (whose superstitions, and manners, Tacitus also affirms‡ were the same as those of the Britons;) just as the antient Asiatic nations did, threw into

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 564: and Wilson, p. 452.

Bello Gal. lib. vi. cap. 18.—Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2.

+ Cæsar de

‡ Tacitus, Vita Agric.

cap. xi. *Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione.*

the funeral pile, on which the body was burnt, such things and animals as the deceased most delighted in ; and even some of his favourite slaves. And that there were instances, in which near relations and friends had destroyed themselves, and perished in the same fire, on such occasions.

Almost every Tumulus and Barrow, great and small, that we have any accurate accounts of, indicate the complete similarity between their original construction, and that of those in the East.

A few of them, that have been particularly described, in our own Island, are now worthy our attention, as confirming this idea.

In the neighbourhood of *Blagdon* House, at no great distance from Bath, is a considerable Barrow, that has long been called *Fairy's Tootle* ; (which kind of superstitious name, is in itself indeed an indication of its high antiquity.) It is 150 feet from east to west ; and 75 feet in breadth ; and of a proportionable height. It appears to have been first constructed by piling up fragments of whitish stone, with which the adjacent country abounds ; after which it was turfed, so that there still remains a layer of grassed earth, of 5 or 6 inches deep, covering the whole ; on which grow several trees.

And upon endeavouring to remove some of the stones, for the repair of the adjacent roads, in 1789,* there was discovered, on the southern side, not far from the west end of the Barrow, a large stone in a sloping position, which closed up the entrance of a gallery, whose height was a little more than 4 feet. The wall of this passage was built up of base free stone, less in length than in breadth, and about 14 inches in thickness. And at the distance of 13 feet directly north from the entrance, was found a *Kistvaen*, or Sepulchre, composed of rude stones, which was 9 feet long ; 4 feet high ; and 2 feet 3 inches wide ; and in which was an human skull, and some other bones, and also those of some quadruped. The roof of the gallery having here fallen in, prevented any further accurate examination in this part ; only it was possible to see, by the light of a candle, that there were two other similar Sepulchres, one to the right, and the other to the left. This tumulus being opened in another part of the southern side, the gallery appeared again, formed

* See a very particular account in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LIX. p. 392.

of three stones, two perpendicular, and one horizontal; and here were discovered some more Cells, or *Kistvaens*, on the sides, containing human bones. But the thorough examination of the gallery was not perfected.—It appears, however, plainly enough from hence, that there was no small similarity between the construction of this Tumulus, and that at New Grange in Ireland.

The great Cairns, or Barrows, in Anglesey, of a similar kind, have already been mentioned, (p. 232.) One of them, near Plas Newydd, (which is exceeding large, and the stones of which, like that in the preceding instance, are covered with earth and moss, and have great trees growing thick upon them,) having been opened since Rowland's time, discovered a passage, and a cell,* about 7 feet long, and 3 wide, covered with two flat stones.

And another of them, near the seat of Sir Nicholas Bayley (now Lord Uxbridge), having also been opened, there was found† a passage, about 3 feet wide; and 4 high; and about 19½ feet long; that led into a small room of an irregular hexagonal form, the sides whereof were constructed of rude slabs of stone; and the roof of which was covered with one great stone, near 10 feet in diameter; supported, moreover, by a rude stone pillar in the middle. And all round the sides of this little room was formed a stone bench, on which lay human bones, that fell to dust almost at a touch.

And a third Cairn of immense size, at *Tre-garnedd*, is understood to have beneath it passages,‡ formed on the sides and tops with flat stones or flags: and is very justly deserving therefore to be mentioned, whilst we are considering those that have any resemblance to the great Cairn, or Barrow, at New Grange.

The next that more particularly claims our attention, is that vast one called *Silbury Hill*, near those other stupendous British Remains, at Abury, in Wiltshire.

It is 500 feet in diameter at the bottom; § 170 feet in perpendicular height; and 105 feet in diameter at the top. A work surely deserving to be compared, in point of magnificence, with that of Alyattes; and which could never be raised by Danes, or Saxons,

* Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 238.

† Ibid. p. 262.

‡ Pennant's second Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 261.

§ Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 110.

during their invasions; nor by any people, except in time of peace, and with the aid of a vast multitude.

Part of an human skeleton, and a very antient horse's bit were found, in digging upon it to plant some trees, in 1723; which seem to indicate, that to do honour to the great person interred at the bottom, and to whose memory this astonishing work was reared, there were both captives, or slaves, and horses, slain, and their remains interred around him; as was done on raising the funeral pile for Patroclus;* when four horses, two favourite dogs, and twelve captive Trojans were slain, and their remains covered at last by the Barrow that was raised on the occasion; and as was also usually done, on raising the great Barrows over the Scythian Kings.+ An attempt was made, a very few years ago, to sink a well perpendicularly, in order to discover the contents of this vast Tumulus; but nothing was found except a rotten post, and something which had the appearance of a rusty knife. We must therefore conclude, either that this well was not sunk *in such a part* of the extensive area covered by this mount, as to be near the cavity where the body had been deposited; or else, that the body, at the time of its interment, was not inclosed in a cell, or vault of rude stones; but in a cell merely formed of timber, as some of those of the Scythian Kings described by Herodotus, ‡ seem clearly to have been; or as some of those, mentioned by Colden, § as formed for the reception of the bodies of Indian Chiefs were; and that this rotten post, was the remains of one of the strongest supporters, whilst in other parts, the whole had fallen in, and was with the body entirely consumed and decayed.

It seems probable, from the appearances on the opening of many Barrows; and especially from the appearances of those of the smaller kind, which have so often a cavity, or sinking in, at the top, that the bodies were originally deposited in such sort of cavities formed merely of rude pieces of wood, and that the sinking in of the Barrow, in the centre at the top, was merely the consequence of the decay of this rude kind of receptacle. But however this may have been, in the instance of this great Barrow at Silbury, there is

* Iliad. lib. xxiii. ver. 171. 175. 255.

+ Herodotus, lib. iv. 71.

p. 313. ed. Wesselingii.

‡ Ibid.; and see before, p. 279. 285.

§ History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, p. 16.

every reason to conclude, from bones having been found in it, that it was a sepulchral Tumulus; and from its vicinity to Abury, that it was of British construction.

And indeed, we need not have recourse to the supposition of the body, or ashes, having been inclosed merely in a cell of wood, in order to account for no other remains having been found on sinking the well in the centre; because in clearing away a large Barrow in Derbyshire, it was found that neither of the two *Kistvaens*, which really belonged to it, were placed at all near the middle.

This Barrow was on *Fin Cop Hill*, about two miles from Ashford; and had near it earth-works, with a ditch on the inside of a vallum, (as at Stone Henge,) a ditch of that kind which are so peculiarly known to be *Druidical*. It was 161 feet in circumference; or between 50 and 60 feet in diameter; and of considerable height. In the latter end of the year 1795, it was destroyed, for the sake of obtaining the great quantity of limestone it was supposed to contain. And it was found composed of fragments of limestone mixed with fine dry mould. But no *Kistvaen*, or any kind of Sepulchre, was found *in the centre*. Yet here had plainly been an antient interment of the most splendid kind, with the greatest care. Several arrow heads of *flints* found in it, shewed its high antiquity. And bones, and skeletons, lying in some parts, seemed plainly to indicate that there had been an immolation of captives, or other wretched victims. But the *Kistvaens*, in which remains of bodies had been deposited apparently with the utmost care, were found *remote* from the centre. And the one, which seems to have been that of the greatest consequence, was even the most remote. It was on three sides hewn out of the solid rock; and had one flat stone placed at its end, and another at the top. It was only 2 feet 9 inches in length; and 2 feet in breadth; and 1 foot 9 inches in depth. But in it were found bones, which as well as those in the other *Kistvaen*, seemed to have been collected after burning the body. And the skull was, in a most remarkable manner, placed with the face downwards; and an oblong piece of dressed black Derbyshire marble carefully fixed, by strong cement, to the back of the head; under which were found two arrow heads of flint. There was also a flat round varnished stone in this *Kistvaen*, which seems to have been some ornament for dress.

The other Kistvaen, which probably contained the remains of the queen, was of the same form, but of less dimensions; and was constructed only of four stones standing on an edge, with one to cover them. And had the bones and ashes thrown in promiscuously, and no arrow heads. There were, however, some urns of very coarse baked earth, found near the rim of the Barrow; in one of which was also a flint arrow head. And these, it is probable, might contain the ashes of some of this family who had been interred *after* the rearing of the Barrow; as the ashes of Achilles are said to have been deposited in the Barrow of Patroclus. But one cannot form the same conclusion, with any propriety, with regard to the two skeletons that were found lying flat on the ground; near which, was also found another spear head of flint.* For they seem to have been denied both the honour of being burned, and of being inclosed in *Kistvaens*.

The same conclusion, as concerning Silbury Barrow, we must also unavoidably form, concerning another large Barrow at Merdon, or *Merden*, notwithstanding what is said, and conjectured, with regard to a battle fought there, between Alfred and the Danes in 871; neither of whom could have had time, or assurance of security, long enough, to rear this mount, which is at least 240 feet in diameter, and of considerable height. The many large stags' horns also, found buried near the spot, indicate a different age, and observances of rites and customs of far prior times.

Another great Barrow near 300 feet long, and of great breadth; called *South long Barrow*, near Silbury Hill, seems to be, on account of its situation, undoubtedly British: and so also does a great one at *Monkton*, called *Milbarrow*; which is near 200 feet long, and above 30 broad;† and was set round with stones 6 or 7 feet high.

And as the vicinity of Abury to these works, plainly bespeaks *their* origin; so the multitude of smaller Barrows, within sight of Stone Henge, seems most fully to prove *their* connection with that structure, and with the aboriginal Britons.

They are generally placed on elevated ground, within sight of

* See a very full and curious account of this Barrow in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XII. p. 327; with representations of the spear heads, Pl. XLIX.

† Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 111.

that seat of antient dire superstition; insomuch, that one may, from thence, count even fifty at a time, in an evening, when the sloping rays of the sun shine on the ground beyond them. And they are generally, though small, yet of an elegant campaniform shape, constructed with great nicety; which, together with their peculiar situation, as has been well observed, plainly shews that they are not the vestiges of tumultuary burials of persons slain in battle; but rather the Sepulchres of distinguished personages, interred on what was deemed a sacred spot; and interred in times of peace.*

On examination of their contents, they have been found to consist of a coat of turf; a layer of chalk 2 feet thick; then another of fine mould; and under this, 3 feet from the surface, of a layer of flints 2 feet thick, somewhat like other layers that have been found in Dorsetshire; and last of all, of a second layer of mould 1 foot thick, inclosing both human skeletons, and rude unbaked urns, holding burnt human bones.† Sometimes also were found spear heads; glass and amber beads; wood ashes; bones of horses, and other beasts; a sort of pole-axe; a sword; or a celt; and fragments of stone.

We may now add, that besides these smaller Barrows, the great Barrow in Lord Pembroke's park at Wilton, is also in sight of Stone Henge.

The great Mount at Marlborough, has been observed to be also in the vicinity, if not in sight of Abury; and has therefore been sometimes hastily considered as a great Barrow.‡ But I shall have

* The view and appearance of Silbury Hill, compared with that of the Herefordshire Beacon, or indeed with that of any other Hill Fortress, shews most characteristically the difference between *the Barrow*, and *the Stronghold*; and the comparison of the same magnificent Remains, with the appearances of the *Norman Mounts*, at Tunbridge; at Oxford; at Wallingford; and at Lewes; or Clare; shews, as precisely, the difference between the *great high Barrow*, and the *Norman Mount*.

The distinguishing smoothness of the Barrow, and gradual easy ascent;—the bold projecting works, and ramparts of the Hill Fortress;—and the obviously intended *glacis*, and *steep* of the Norman Mount; with the top adjusted to the foundation of the great Keep Tower;—are decided marks, that will almost always prevent any confusion.

The form of *low Barrows*, is also as certainly and easily to be known. Many of them may be seen from a part of the road very little distant from Silbury; where the scene they form, will soon make any intelligent eye acquainted with the general appearance.

† See Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 108; and Stukeley, &c.

‡ Archaeologia, Vol. II. p. 237.

occasion hereafter to shew, that this conclusion is founded in a mistake; and that the Mount at Marlborough, was no Barrow at all; but raised by the Normans, as the foundation of a great Keep of a Castle, at that place, consistently with the construction of all their earliest castles; the mounts of which, are every where to be most carefully distinguished (as they easily may be), from Barrows.

Barrows themselves, however, as appears even from the preceding pages, are not always of the same form.—And there is, in Dorsetshire, an immense Barrow, between Bridport and Dorchester, that well deserves to be compared with Silbury Hill, though it be of a quite different construction.—It is 749 feet in length;* and 161 feet in breadth; and 147 feet from the foot to the summit, measuring one of the sloping sides. It is called Shipton Hill.

Of the same kind seems to be a great Barrow at Cossington, in Leicestershire, nearly three miles to the south-east of Mount Sorrel. It is about 350 feet long; 120 broad; and 40 high. The people of the country call it Shipley Hill; and have a tradition that some great warrior was buried under it: or, as they express it, some great captain.†

Of the same kind also, seems to be that well-known Barrow in Kent, near Chartham, called *Julaber's Grave*; supposed by Camden to be the Sepulchre of a Roman Tribune, Quintus Laberius Durus; though he acknowledges‡ that the tradition of the country concerning it, like the tradition concerning many other British memorials, intimated that Julaber, instead of being a Roman, was either a giant, or a witch. We are left at liberty, therefore, to conclude *this* to have been (consistently with the uniform appearances of so many others), a British Barrow of high antiquity; long preceding the time of the Romans. It is, like that in Dorsetshire, of greater length than breadth; and is placed upon a chalk hill, near the side of a river, half way between Swerdling Downs and Shellingheld.

* This is near 150 feet more than the diameter of Silbury Hill. Hutch. p. 342.

† Description of England, Vol. V. p. 203.—Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 210. There are trenches on the top of this Barrow; supposed to be modern, and cut merely for amusement.—But it is by no means impossible that they may, *at first*, have been more antient than is imagined.—We cannot forget what we have had occasion to remark, from *Herodotus*, with regard to the Barrow of *Alyattes*; p. 273.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 215.

What has induced the curious, more than any other circumstance, to suspect this to be a Roman Barrow is, that on examining the contents of some small Barrows, in its neighbourhood, there were found, lying in graves cut in the chalk, together with bones and urns, a bracelet of gold; fibulæ ornamented with garnets and coloured stones, and gold filagree work, and ivory; a chrystal ball; a gold clasp; brass pins; garnet pendants; amethystine beads; glass, and other beads; umbos of shields; and spear and arrow heads.* And it has been thought, that such a multitude of ornaments, many of which were of nice work, and of costly materials, could not but be proofs, that the persons interred were Romans, and not rude Britons.

But besides taking into consideration the fact adverted to, in what has been remarked concerning the habits of the Britons, that some of them had ornaments of gold; and that many of the articles mentioned, such as the *beads*, and arrow heads, are more likely to have been British than Roman; I must beg leave to observe *here*, once for all, that when ornaments and arms, *decidedly Roman*, have ever been found under Barrows, they were, in all probability, the ornaments and arms of Britons, in Roman service.

For as we have not any instance, that I am acquainted with, (except the two I have already mentioned,) of the Romans raising any Barrows, in any one part of the world; so indeed, the *Roman interments*, wherever we meet with them, even in the neighbourhood of Barrows, and almost close to them, are of a very different kind.

On which account, it is much more reasonable to conclude, that all the Barrows that are met with in the parts any where adjacent to Roman camps, and stations, were either long prior to the Romans having possession of those spots; or else were the Barrows of British officers, who had at length entered into Roman service, but retained so much of their antient customs, as to have *Barrows* raised over their remains, by their fellow countrymen, on their decease.

In the neighbourhood of the great Roman camp at Chesterford, in Essex, on the borders of Cambridgeshire, in a spot just without the vallum, near the present mill, I saw myself, in the year 1785, four very large stone coffins, of a very singular form, and different

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 242.

from those used in any ages after the times of the Romans. These coffins had just been dug up; and were found in a spot where I could not discern the appearance of any thing like antient Barrows. They were quite round at the head, both within and without; were about 7 feet long; 14 inches deep at the head; and 10 inches deep at the feet; and were each of them covered with a large flat stone lid, about 8 feet long, that was made round at the bottom end, over the feet; and in the form of a demi-hexagon at top, over the head; where, on the contrary, the coffin itself is rounded. There was no groove in the lid, for fixing it fast; it being merely laid down flat upon the stone Sepulchre. But there was yet a most remarkable circumstance, in the construction of the lid itself; for on its inner, or lowermost side, there was a large sloping hollow cut, more than a foot in length, and of a proportionable breadth, excavated out of the thickness of the stone, which was very great; and situated just over where the breast of the body interred must have been placed; which hollow was therefore manifestly designed, to receive either the umbo of a shield, or the handle of a sword.

In each of the coffins was found a great mass of lime; which having been put in at the time the bodies were deposited, had devoured and corroded, both them, and all the other contents of the chests.*

With these coffins were dug up, at the same time, some brass coins of the Emperor Claudius; one of which I have in my possession. And we may fairly add, that whilst these were an indication that the coffins must have been Sepulchres, connected with the great Roman Castrum, in the very earliest periods in which the Romans had possession of this country; there was the strongest proof, from their situation *just without the Vallum* of the Castrum, that there never could have been any *Barrow* here: nor any thing to connect this mode of interment with that of *the British Officers* under Barrows.

In like manner, in the Roman Sepulchres, discovered near the remains of the antient Roman Villa, near Mansfield Woadhouse, +

* There was a similar kind of interment discovered near Colchester; about the year 1776, where, in the mass of lime contained in the coffin, were found some yellowish nodules of a pyritical kind; which probably were occasioned by the decomposition of the iron weapons.

+ Archaeologia, Vol. VIII. p. 373.

in Nottinghamshire (so accurately described by Mr. *Rooke*); there was nothing like the appearance of the kind of interments of the Britons; nor like a Barrow.

So at Ash in Kent, at no great distance from the very first great Castrum of the Romans, called *Richborough*; though too far off to suppose it, reasonably, to have been the usual, and proper burying place belonging to that Castrum; have been found the remains of some interments of the Romans;—in some respects indeed, of another kind from those just mentioned; but yet quite different from those of the Britons, and from interments under Barrows. Though, indeed, some interments under Barrows of a British kind have also been discovered on this very spot, and sometimes confounded with the other.

In a sandy field, which seems to have been the burying place of some distinguished Romans; and which is on a rising ground, above the marshes, intervening between it and *Richborough*; on the right hand of the road from Canterbury to Sandwich; were found several bodies, inclosed separately in cavities, formed by wooden boards, at the depth of about 4 feet. A sword was found generally put on the right side, and a spear on the left of each. And several Roman medals, of the Upper and Lower Empire, were found in these graves.* Yet, at the same time, not very far from these Roman graves, have been found not only small Barrows containing truly British remains, all of which are well described in the *Nenia* of Mr. Douglas; but also some large Barrows: and particularly one at *Winsborough*; and again another between that and Sandwich, called *Marvill Hill*; which Barrows one cannot reasonably conceive to have been constructed by the same people, who formed such very different kinds of graves near this very spot. One might as soon fancy the urns, and pins, found on digging the foundations of St. Paul's, to have belonged to the Normans.

Again, in the North of England; all the discoveries that have

* There were a variety of other articles dug out of these graves; such as scales; and a touchstone; and many glass vessels; and fibulæ of filagree, and other curious workmanship, with coloured and precious stones. Many of which I have myself seen in the cabinet of the late Mr. Faussett of Heppington, near Canterbury; and of which some account is given in Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 243.

been made with regard to the interments of the Romans, though different from either of the former just described, yet plainly appear to have had no sort of connection with the raising of Barrows.

Near York, in 1768, was discovered a Roman Sepulchre, in the form of a little oblong room;* formed of large Roman tiles, of a very peculiar figure, set on edge, on each side; and at the two ends; and covered with other tiles of the same kind, set leaning against each other, in the manner of a pent, or ridge. In this little space were found several urns, containing some ashes, and earth, standing upon a tiled pavement. And near it were found two coins of Vespasian and Domitian, and also a silver ring seal; and on the tiles was impressed, *LEG IX HIS*. But there does not seem to have been the least appearance of a Barrow belonging to it.

We are told also, that several such Roman Tombs were found about 1720, near Stratsburg, in Germany.

And in other places, where Barrows still appear, there are the most positive proofs, from remains of interments most clearly Roman, (but of a far different kind, from those in the Barrows near adjoining,) that the Barrows themselves could have no connection with the times of the Romans, or with persons at all connected with the Romans, any further, than that possibly *British Chiefs*, retaining their own usages and customs, might be interred there.

In Trelech parish, in Caermarthenshire, (a country that abounds with antient Fortresses, Camps, and Barrows,) there is a very remarkable Tumulus that has been opened. The circumference at bottom is about 60 paces, and the height of it about 18 feet; rising with an easy ascent.† There appeared an hollow, or sinking in at the top: and on examining this, there was discovered a vast rude flat stone, of an oval form, about 9 feet long; and 5 feet wide; and near 1 foot thick, which covered a *Kistvaen*, or rude chest, 4½ feet long, and 3 feet broad, composed of rude stones standing up; one on each side; one at each end; and one behind each of the end stones, as a support. And within this chest were some remains of bones, and other fragments. The name of this Barrow in the country, is *Krig y Dyrrn*; and it has with great propriety been deemed by Mr.

* *Archaeologia*, Vol. II. p. 177, 178.

† *Gough's Camden*, Vol. II. p. 510.

Lluyd to have been the Barrow of a British prince. In this same county, however, and at no great distance, are found manifest traces of the Romans; to whom some persons might therefore have been ready to have ascribed the raising this Barrow; but their own real interments, near adjoining, appear to have been in plain graves, with stone pillars, and Roman inscriptions.

This Barrow was plainly formed, like many others, of a vast heap of stones, piled round the Chest, or Kistvaen, and then covered with turf.

In like manner there is a Tumulus in Denbighshire, called *Barrow Hill*; about three miles from Ruthin. And near it also, is a very different kind of Roman Sepulchre; for it is placed in a sort of hollow about 8 feet in diameter; and has two stones, standing above the surface of the ground; one, as it were, at each end of a grave, about 4 feet long; and on one of these stones are rude letters,* that Mr. Lluyd deemed to have denoted the interment of some Roman officer.

So in Merionethshire, on the side of the road from Dolgelly to Tanybwllch,† on a plain part of a mountain are many Barrows. And at no very great distance, proceeding further on the road, are, again, a considerable number of graves, of a very different kind; resembling, and connected with some others which have Roman inscriptions.

So also, in Northumberland; not far from *Elsdon*, are some Tumuli; and one large one, called Harnsley Hill.‡ Yet here also, in the neighbourhood, were found Sepulchral Roman inscriptions, which belonged to graves, of a quite different kind.

From this decided distinction, therefore, of Roman graves in general from Barrows, we may fairly conclude, that even where Roman coins, or medals, or Roman insignia have been found in Barrows; that still those were indeed British Barrows; only raised, in the later times, over such British chiefs as were in Roman service.

Thus we find there were some Roman coins, and particularly one of Vespasian, discovered on opening a considerable Tumulus, about three miles from Aldborough, in Yorkshire; in the years 1785, and

* Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 578, 579; where the inscription may be seen, Pl. XX. fig. 3.

† Ibid. p. 544.

‡ Ibid. Vol. III. p. 248.

1787. The elevation of this Tumulus was about 18 feet; and its circumference at the base 370. In it were found rude urns, composed of blue clay and sand; which may much rather be conceived to have been of British manufacture than Roman. These contained burnt bones and ashes:* and, what is very remarkable, there were a great number of bones found on one side of the Tumulus, separate from the urns; which may lead us to suspect, that it was raised after some battle.

On opening also a Barrow of earth, on the common of Winster, in Derbyshire, which stood amongst divers other Barrows, or Cairns of stone, were found some well wrought ornaments; and particularly one that was circular, about 2 inches in diameter, resembling the cover of a fibula; similar to some of those found at Ash near Richborough, in Kent; and which therefore appears to have been Roman. It was composed chiefly of filagree, or chain work of gold, or silver gilt, and set with garnets, or red glass.+ There was found also a silver collar, or bracelet, studded with figures of human heads: and two glass vessels, between 8 and 10 inches in height, with wide circular mouths, and a little bulge in the middle. But as the conclusion concerning *all* these being Roman is rather equivocal; so indeed there being several square and round beads of various colours, of glass, and earth, found with them, does much more plainly shew, that the Barrow was raised over some Briton of distinction; who, even in the later times, and though dwelling amongst the Romans, yet retained *these latter* so peculiarly British ornaments.

Again, on Barham Downs, in Kent, there are a great number of Tumuli, or Barrows; some of which are of considerable size; and most of which, if not all, have been opened: Mr. Fausset, formerly of Heppington,‡ having alone been the means of opening upwards of seventy. Some of them contained a variety of curious ornaments, which were most probably wrought in Roman times; and which I have myself seen at Heppington;§ such as fibulæ of filagree

* There is an account of this Barrow in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1787, p. 564.

+ Archaeologia, Vol. III. p. 274. ‡ Hasted's History of Kent, Vol. III. p. 753.

§ A very exact representation, and account, of many of these remains of antiquity, has been published by the Rev. Mr. Douglass, in the *Nenia Britannica*. Who has also added

work in gold, set with garnets, and coloured stones of various kinds and dimensions; similar to that just described, which was found in Derbyshire; bracelets, chains, spoons, knives, keys, spear heads, rich handles of swords, with glass vessels: and a *denarius* of *Tiberius*, was also found near some of them.

There are undoubtedly great remains of Roman works on these Downs; and a Roman military way runs along the lower side of them: yet, from the numbers of *beads* found in these graves, with bracelets, and necklaces of *glass beads*, all of which are so peculiarly British, one cannot but conclude that these were British graves, although made in the time of the Romans. And indeed Mr. Faussett himself was convinced, from all the best observations he could make, that they were the very graves of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages: of men and women, promiscuously buried in them, at different times: only with this distinction, that those with military appearances in them, were of persons who had been soldiers.

Thus, in like manner, as I mentioned on a former occasion, near Addington, in Kent, on the Downs, situated on the Coombe Hills, are small Barrows still existing, of persons who had belonged to the antient British town, which tradition says, was in those parts; and to which the remarkable adjacent *hiding pits* belonged.*

A Barrow of immense size is said to have existed, and to have been opened, on Barham Downs, in the time of Henry VIII.; in which was found a large urn with bones; and brass and iron helmets; and remains of shields.

In the same manner in which we have reasoned concerning these Barrows on Barham Downs, we may also fairly reason concerning the urns, with both Greek and Roman coins in them, which Aubrey says, were found in Barrows on Exmore, in Devonshire.†

And in the same manner we ought surely to reason, concerning a Barrow near Pakefield, in Suffolk; in which was discovered,‡ in

most exact descriptions of the contents of many other Barrows; which I do not particularly mention; because I wish rather to refer the inquisitive reader, to the perusal of that very curious work itself, however I may differ from the author in some few points.

* See p. 50.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 35.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 90.

1758, a skeleton ; round the neck whereof remained an ornament, with an onyx set in gold, and also a gold medal, appendant, of *Avitus*, who had been set up by Theodoric, King of the Goths, about 455, and was deposed by Ricimer.

And if we may fairly conclude even these Barrows, containing insignia of the times of the Romans, to have been *British* ; how much more strongly may we form the same conclusion with regard to almost all the rest ; excepting only some few of those which appear to have been decidedly reared in consequence of battles.

In Dorsetshire, besides the great Barrow called Shipton Hill, which has been already mentioned, there is another, near Pimperm, called *Long Barrow*, which is 224 feet long, and 10 feet in perpendicular height ; being of the kind which Dr. Stukeley believed to have been raised over some of those who were esteemed the heads of the classes of the Druids. Others of the same sort, standing single and solitary, are found in different parts of the same county.* And one of them, near Bradford Peverel, is surrounded at the basis with rude stones.

In the county of Dorsetshire also, on *Nine-Barrow Down*, are some small and round ones near adjoining to each other ; which seem to have been very much of the same kind, and for the very identical purpose, with those mentioned on *Barham Downs*, in Kent.

And, in 1767, a great Barrow, 100 feet in diameter, and 12 feet in height, near Wareham, in Dorsetshire, was opened ; and there was found in the centre, at the bottom, even with the surface of the ground, a very large hollow trunk of an oak rudely excavated, 10 feet long, and containing a cavity 3 feet wide, in which lay several human bones, wrapped up in a covering composed of several skins ; which, by remains of the hair, appeared to be deers' skins. At one end of this rude chest was found, what has been called an urn, made of oak ; but which, from its dimensions, we may much rather conceive to have been a small drinking cup ; or else a vessel used for libations ; its diameter being only 3 inches, and its depth within, 2.+ There was found also a piece of some kind of gold lace, 4 inches

* See an account of some of them in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1768, p. 113.

+ A very curious account of the contents of this Barrow is inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1767, p. 53.

long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, with bits of wire in it; but there were not the least fragments of brass, or iron, or remains of spear heads, or celts: from all which circumstances it seems plainly to appear, that this was indeed the grave of a Druid; and especially from the oaken cup, and the *piece of gold lace*, with its wires; as the Druidical reverence for the oak is well known; and their actually wearing ornaments of a kind of gold lace, has been mentioned, from the highest authority of antient writers, in the preceding part of these observations.

In some other Barrows also, that were opened in Dorsetshire, the appearances still confirmed the idea of their being British.*

A Barrow, about 200 feet in circumference, and 12 feet in height, well known by the name of *Hambury-taut*, or *toote*, situated on the highest point of a lofty hill, about midway between the points of Portland and Purbeck Islands, being examined a few years ago, there were found, a little beneath the surface, and also near the extremities, burnt human bones, and bones of different kinds of animals; bits of metal, and other fragments; all placed as if they were the remains of captives, and animals, who had been slain and burned at the time of the forming the Barrow; according to those horrid rites that were practised in the earliest ages. And lower down, in the centre of the Tumulus, was found a skeleton in perfect preservation, lying with its head to the North, in the posture of a person sleeping on his side; with the feet rather drawn up, and one hand on the breast: close to which was deposited a rude urn, too much decayed to be handled without falling to pieces. It was of the measure of about 2 quarts, but empty of every thing except fine mould. Near the neck of the person interred, were also found many small rounded stones, of different sizes, from that of a pigeon's egg down to that of a pea; which, as they were imperforated, seemed probably to have been set in some sort of ornament. Underneath this body appeared the foundation of the Barrow, composed entirely of flints and stones; and beneath these was found an heap of ashes, which were, in all probability, the very remains of the great funeral pile that had been erected on that spot; just as

* There is a most particular and exceeding curious account of the opening of some of these Barrows, by Mr. Milner of Winchester, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1790, p. 897.

the funeral pile of Patroclus, had been on the very spot where his Barrow was afterwards raised.

Two other Barrows also were examined, opposite to East Lullworth ; on a level piece of ground, which is met with in the ascent of a steep mountain, on the top whereof is situated an antient hill-fortress, that *Hutchins*, in his History of Dorsetshire, without any other authority than a most strained etymology, conceived to be Roman ; but which has every appearance of having been British. And in these were found the same mixture of bones of men, horses, oxen, and boars ; with lumps of corroded metal ; and the same sort of coarse round stones, not bigger than children's marbles ; and also some pointed stones, appearing as if they had formed the heads of weapons. And the bottom of one of these Barrows, like that other which has been just described, was paved with large round stones. No entire skeleton, however, was found here.

In another of the numerous Barrows in that part of Dorsetshire, were found five skeletons, deposited at different depths, and in such a manner, as if they had been buried at different times ; and as if this Barrow (like some of those on Barham Downs, in Kent,) had been a *family burying place*. Each of these bodies had a rude urn upon it ; of such coarse and perishable materials, that except a few fragments of the parts near the rims, which appeared ornamented, in a sort of zig-zag fashion, they fell to pieces on being touched. And under the head of one was a small vessel of earth, about the size of the cup of a wine glass, covered with the shell of a limpet.

Five or six other Barrows, in the neighbourhood, appeared to have the same sort of contents : and the rough rudeness of the urns (so unlike the polished ones of the Romans, that are met with in so many instances), together with the rudeness of the ornaments, surely shew the whole to have been British :* whilst the situation of several of them, on lofty mountains, and sequestered downs ; intimates the same thing.

In another Barrow, about 150 feet in circumference, and about

* These are almost Mr. Milner's own words : who also further most justly observes, that the Danes never seem to have been at all stationary in this part of the kingdom, till their princes, and the nation in general, professed themselves Christians, and therefore could not have either permitted, or used this kind of burial.

10 in height; very near unto several others of the same kind; on a shaft being cut down to the centre of the Barrow, there was found a kind of vault, (or rather a *Kistvaen*,) formed with unhewn stones; and inclosing an urn that held about two gallons, full of burnt human bones, and covered with a thin flat stone; having a quantity of the roots of quitch grass, undecayed, near it; which also was sometimes met with in other Barrows. This urn, like the former, was of a coarse black clay; not seeming to have been either turned in a lathe, or burnt in a kiln; but to have been most truly a rude British urn.

Having seen how clearly these Barrows, on the most minute examination, appear to be British,—we may now venture without hesitation, to conclude that those in Berkshire, not far from the vale of White Horse, were also raised by the Britons. I mean those called *the Seven Barrows*; and those others in their neighbourhood, near twenty in number, within an extent of six or seven hundred yards.* And we have still a further confirmation of this conclusion, from the circumstance of a Cromlech being within the distance of a mile from them, well known by the name of the *Wayland Smith*, and which seems plainly to have been a Druidical Altar; notwithstanding the idle tales relating to it.

So another Barrow, called *Dragon Hill*, between White Horse Hill, and the *Ickleton Way*, may fairly be concluded to have been British.

And we may add, that the large Tumuli also, on that which is called *Four Barrow Hill*, near Chichester, appear, from their situation on the ridge of an high hill, not more than 60 yards over;—from their vast dimensions; (the most perfect being 51 feet in height,)—and from the name they have preserved, by tradition, of *the King's Graves*;—much rather to have been British; than to have been merely *Saxon Tumuli*, thrown up in haste after a supposed battle.

This idea also is confirmed, by the remarkable appearance of three adjoining circular hollows, on the ground, with circular raised rims; two whereof are each 15 feet in diameter, and the third

* See Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 155.

18. It is confirmed also by the appearance of a sort of intrenchment, with the ditch *inwards*, carried in a sort of circular form round the top of the hill.* All which circumstances point out a connection with Druidical customs, and manners.

In like manner, the Tumuli not far from *Barrow* in Lincolnshire, may fairly, be concluded to have been British; as there is a remarkable earthwork near, which has every appearance of having been a work of the Britons;† and as, on being opened, there were found in these, both rude urns, and bones.

So on opening one of the round Barrows at Aldfriston, in Sussex, in 1763;‡ after digging a few feet, there was found the skeleton of a man, lying on its side, in a contracted form; the bones of which were very hard and firm, owing to the nature of the ground in which they lay, which was a bed of chalk. And during the course of digging, there were also found ten different sorts of knives, or weapons, of different make; iron spikes; charcoal; a thin piece of yellow metal; and bones of brute animals. And in the middle, under a pyramid of flints, was found an urn, holding about a gallon of burnt bones, and ashes. It was carefully placed on the chalk rock, with about 4 feet of earth over it; and was of unbaked clay; and had some rude ornaments on the verge of it.—And in this instance, as in those just before mentioned, the unbaked urn, the burnt bones, and the rude weapons, plainly point out to us the earliest age in this country; whilst the entire preservation of *the* ~~one~~ skeleton, shew the Barrow could not have contained many bodies of persons slain in battle; as they would have remained entire, just in like manner, if that had been the case: and the bones of the brute animals rather indicate, that some victims had been slain on occasion of this interment, as was the usage in the most barbarous times. The whole, therefore, of the appearance leads us to conclude, that this Tumulus was British.

And the Tumuli near Whitby Strand, in Yorkshire; wherein

* There is an account of these Barrows, and Rings, and a representation of a section of them, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1792, Vol. LXXII. p. 593.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 278.

‡ Description of England, Vol. IX. p. 150.—Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 201.

have been found the remains of bodies, and their ornaments, have also very justly been concluded to have been British.*

So surely the Cairn that was opened in Craven, in Yorkshire, some years ago; and which stood upon a mountain, above the hamlet of Stackhouse, had great appearances of being British. It was about 9 or 10 yards in height, and of considerable diameter; (being about 210 feet in circumference;) composed of stones piled one upon another; with a small stone wall, or rampart, round the basis, somewhat similar to those described by Borlase, in the West of England. In the centre was found a *Kistvaen*, or stone Chest; formed of several stones of great magnitude, and thickness, and being about 6 or 7 feet long, and 3 broad; fixed in the ground; and covered with one vast stone. In this chest were certain partitions; and an human skeleton was found there, nearly entire; and also a circular piece of ivory, (or at least of a substance that appeared like ivory,) and the tusk of a boar.†

And as several other bones were found in this Barrow beside the one more perfect skeleton, there is reason to think it might be a family Sepulchre; unless those are to be supposed to have been the bones of captives slain at the interment.

The Tumuli also, on Barrow Hill, near Yealand, in Lancashire, may fairly be concluded to have been British: as, upon opening one of them, there was found an urn that had every appearance of being British; and a large *glass bead*, of a blue colour; and an human skeleton, adjoining to the urn; whilst the urn itself contained about three or four quarts of human bones calcined.‡

And still more strongly may a Barrow that was opened in the parish of Oddington, in Gloucestershire, in 1787, be concluded to have been British. It was but a small one: and, on being cut through perpendicularly, appeared formed of layers of large flat stones, of the kind with which the adjacent country abounds, interspersed with earth; but its contents were very remarkable. It seemed to have been a sort of *family Sepulchre*; containing the bones of at least six bodies; the ornaments of some of which appeared to be

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 80.

† There is an account of the whole in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1784, p. 962; and in that for 1785, p. 417.

‡ Archaeologia, Vol. VII. p. 414.

those of *females*: as the bones also were small. There were found, a bodkin, and a sort of large pin of copper. Beads of a sort of freestone, like some of those formerly described in these sheets, and of blue, and red, and green glass; and of amber; all perforated; and as many of them in number as would fill a quart pot. And besides these, were found, a fibula of copper, parts of a shield, and spear heads.*

The Tumuli also, in the Links of Skail, in the Orkneys, may with good reason be deemed British: their internal structure having so near a resemblance to some of those which have been described; and which undoubtedly contained British remains.

In examining one of them very carefully,† there appeared, first a large quantity of sand covering the whole; then a large parcel of great stones, which seemed to have been taken from the neighbouring sea shore. And, when these were removed, there appeared a Kistvaen, or Chest, composed of four stones, covered with a very large fifth stone. In which chest lay a skeleton, entirely preserved, in the posture of resting on one side, with the knees drawn up to the body, and the arms folded on the breast. And at the feet of this lay the remains of a bag of some very coarse vegetable stuff, containing the bones of a younger person.

And as the bones here were found in this remarkable posture; so in a Tumulus that was opened, near *Straness*, were found the remains of an entire body; which, by the position of the bones, appeared manifestly to have been placed in a sitting posture:‡ and which, therefore, unavoidably reminds us of what has been said, concerning the manner in which some of the Indians, in America, placed the bodies of their departed heroes, under their Tumuli.

There are several other Barrows, in the Orkneys; under which have been found *Kistvaens*, or small cells, built square with stones, and a great stone lying on the mouth; and having black earth, or bones, in them. And under one of these was found a most remarkable cell, formed of an whole round stone, § like a barrel, hollow within, sharp edged at the top, and having the bottom joined like

* There are representations of several of them in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1787, p. 292.

+ Archaeologia, Vol. III. p. 277.

‡ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 724.

§ Wallace's Description of the Islands of Orkney, p. 56, 57.

the bottom of a barrel; and on the mouth a round stone; and above that another large stone, for the preservation of the whole; whilst within was found red clay, and burnt bones.

There have been found also, in various of the Tumuli in the Orkneys,* silver fibulæ; combs; knives; pieces of swords; and bones of dogs, or other animals; a spoon; a cup; a gold ring; and beads. From all which circumstances, fully considered, we cannot but conclude these *Tumuli* to have been of very high antiquity; and to have been indeed the very Sepulchres of the most aboriginal settlers in those islands; notwithstanding what has been conjectured concerning their being merely Roman, or Danish. And we may form this conclusion, the rather; because, in the one instance in the Orkneys,† where a skeleton was actually found with a *Danish* axe, as well as with a sword lying by it: the grave there was of a quite different kind from these; being made merely just under the sand, in the Links of Tranabie. And we may remember, that in a similar manner, in Kent, there are also graves in the sand, at Ash, near Richborough, very different from those under the adjacent Barrows, and Tumuli.

It may seem tedious to proceed with any further enumeration. But almost every instance that can be named of *Barrows*, which have been actually examined, corresponds so completely with the ideas here conveyed, that I cannot but mention a few others.

Near Sandford, in Westmoreland, and not far from the Roman road, are four *Tumuli*; the largest 91 paces in circumference; the second 86; the third about 40; and the last, a small one almost defaced.‡ They have, by some, been suspected to be Roman, because of their proximity to the celebrated road constructed by that people, called the *Maiden way*; but on inspection of the contents of the largest, we must, I think, form a very different conclusion.

This largest, which is about 90 feet in diameter, was cut through in 1766; when, half a yard below the summit, was found a small urn, in a larger, containing a few white ashes: and a little deeper lay a sword, 2 feet long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; and the haft $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with an hilt most curiously carved. There were also the

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 725.

† Wallace, p. 57.

‡ Burn, Vol. I. p. 610.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 159.

heads of two spears; the fragments as was supposed of an helmet; and the umbo of a shield. And below these, under a great heap of stones, 18 or 20 feet in diameter, piled up conically, was a square place, about 4 feet by 2, containing rich black mould, and many human bones, that appeared to have been burnt. This last was evidently the *Kistvaen*, or *Tomb*; and, as well as all the rest, leads us to conceive the whole to have been British.—But nothing does so more fully, than the kind of armour discovered; which has therefore been the more particularly described. The great broad sword, (instead of the short one of the Romans,) and the two spears, are exactly the arms of an old Briton, according to the best ideas we can form.

In like manner, on opening a great Barrow at Ellenborough, in Cumberland; which, from its neighbourhood to so many undoubted Roman antiquities, has been called a *Roman Barrow*;^{*} nothing really Roman was found in it: and the whole appearance, to the best of my apprehensions, shews it to have been really British.

It is situated indeed only about 68 paces from the Roman camp. That circumstance, however, is no proof that it did not exist *prior* to the Roman camp itself. On the contrary, it is rather an indication, that this station (like many others of the Romans in this Island,) had been an aboriginal British post, long before those invaders and conquerors took possession of it. Every circumstance almost belonging to this Barrow leads us to this conclusion. It is placed on the edge of a very high bank, which overhangs towards the sea, in an elevated conspicuous situation, similar to that of many of the most antient Barrows, both in Asia, and in this Island. It is by old tradition, in the neighbouring country, called *the King's burying place*; (which much rather imports its connection with the antient Britons, than with the Romans.) It is of considerable dimensions; being at least 250 feet in circumference; 42 feet on the slope, from the verge to the summit; and at least 14 feet in its perpendicular altitude. And, on examining it from the surface to the bottom, nothing Roman appeared. There was first a stratum of soft earth, covering the whole, in every part, from the base to the top of the

^{*} Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 54.

Barrow; then a mass of stiff unctuous blue clay, intermixed with fern roots; which formed the greater part of the Barrow, and had manifestly been brought from the sea side; and, near the centre of the whole, were found three or four strata of clods; many of which had the grassy sides placed together, and retained the moss fresh; and which covered wood ashes, mixed with some remains of the bones of an ox; all of which remains appeared to have been placed originally, merely on the surface of the ground, exactly corresponding with the surface of that all around. So that here seems to have been, previous to the construction of this Barrow, a great funeral pyre; (somewhat like that of Patroclus,) and the bodies of oxen, and possibly of other animals, seem to have been burnt together with the remains of the deceased, to whose memory this Barrow was raised.

Again; on opening a Barrow, on Middleton Moor, in Derbyshire, in 1788, the contents had much appearance of being Druidical; * as might indeed be expected, from the nearness of the situation of this Tumulus to Druidical remains of another kind: it being not above half a mile from the Arbelows.

We may therefore fairly conclude those Barrows to have been most unquestionably, in like manner, British, and even Druidical, which are found in the neighbourhood of that curious unfinished Rocking Stone, at Aggleston, in the Isle of Purbeck. On one of which was placed a stone, now thrown down, 10 feet by 8.†

And indeed there would be no end of enumerating those many Tumuli, concerning which, we can hardly avoid forming the same conclusion; such as the Barrows on the South Downs, in Sussex; ‡ some of which are large, and scattered singly here and there; some smaller, and a great many near together; most of them indeed round, with a trench inclosing the basis, and a circular cavity on their top; (the contents of one of which has been described;) but some few of them of the long kind; the longest of all, being one that has been already mentioned, as situated on an hill near Aldfriston, and above 130 feet in length, from north to south.

* Archaeologia, Vol. IX. p. 189.

† Mentioned in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1767, p. 170.

‡ Ibid. for 1768, p. 284.

The Barrows on Chatham Downs, in Kent,* which indeed have been justly suspected, by former Antiquaries, to have been those of Britons; because no truly Roman remains were ever found in any of them; and which have been manifestly shewn, in these pages, to have been, in truth, British, by certain peculiar ornaments discovered therein; are fully and curiously described by Mr. Douglas, in the *Nenia*.†

The Barrows on Blackheath,‡ (notwithstanding the conjectures concerning their being Danish;) have by late investigations appeared to have been British,§ of the later ages;

The Barrows on Dartford Brent,|| so near to the antient curious British pits;

The Barrows on Greensted Green;**—that on Sandown field, near Green street; ++

That on *Shottenton* hill, between Faversham and Chilham, in Kent; ††

Those also, in the Island of Shepey, §§ (which have surely too hastily been supposed to be Danish,) may all, in reality, most justly be deemed British.

And they may, indeed, the more certainly be concluded not to have been Roman; because (in addition to what has been observed concerning the very different appearance of truly Roman Sepulchres, in other instances), there is such a striking dissimilarity, in the real Roman burial ground, in the adjacent county, near Newington, ||| on *Keycol* Hill; where such an immense number of urns, and of remains of Roman interments, have been found.

And consistently with the idea of all these Tumuli being British, we find, that in Cornwall, to which part of the Island so many of

* Hasted's History of Kent, Vol. III. p. 154.

† See the *Nenia*, in various parts throughout; in parts too numerous for me here to refer to the particular pages.—This curious work contains such a particular and exact account of these kind of Barrows, and of their contents, that I can only wish to refer the inquisitive reader to the whole work itself, as the best illustration and confirmation of all the conclusions formed in these observations; notwithstanding my differing a little from the author in some few points.

‡ Hasted's History of Kent, Vol. I. p. 14. 27.

§ See *Nenia*, p. 56.

|| Hasted's History of Kent, Vol. I. p. 226.

** Ibid. Vol. I. p. 249.

++ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 684.

†† Ibid. Vol. III.

p. 25.

§§ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 646.

||| Ibid. Vol. II. p. 561.

the Britons retired, in order to secure themselves finally from the Roman arms, Barrows of a very similar kind do (as we might expect) exceedingly abound.

On St. Austle Downs there are many; which lie sometimes two, three, or even seven, in a straight line.* And, indeed, they are found dispersed on almost every plain in that country; as well as on the tops of hills.†

On opening one, in 1751, in a field at Trelowarren, which was constructed of earth, (very wide in circumference, but only about 5 feet high,) as the workmen came to the middle of the Barrow, they found a parcel of stones, set in some order; which being removed, discovered a *Kistvaen*, or cavity, about 2 feet diameter, and of equal height, inclosing bones of all sorts, intermixed with wood ashes. This was surrounded and covered with stones. And at the distance of a few feet, were found two urns; one on each side, with their mouths turned downwards, and small bones and ashes under them. All the black vegetable mould, which covered the place where the urns were found, had been industriously cleared off, and the urns were inverted, on the clean yellow clay, which, in the adjacent field, lies immediately under the soil.‡ Three thin bits of brass were also found, near the middle of the Barrow, which seemed to have been pieces of a sword.

On opening some others, in the Scilly Islands, they appeared manifestly to have been designed, each of them, for the reception of a family; although neither bones, nor urns, but only an unctuous cadaverous earth, was now found in them.

They contained large *Kistvaens*, or Cavities, formed of rough stones: whilst the edges of the Barrows were surrounded with large stones.

And one of these in particular had a large cavity formed in the midst of it, 22 feet in length; 4 feet 10 inches high; and 4 feet 8 inches wide; having a regular passage into it, at the eastern end, 1 foot 8 inches wide.§ The whole therefore of this, much resembled some of those galleries that have before been described under Barrows; except that this was found filled with earth; and that, if the person who examined it was not deceived in his observation,

* Borlase, p. 217. † Ibid. p. 211. ‡ Ibid. p. 214. § Ibid. p. 220.

there was an appearance even of masonry, and mortar; a circumstance that would induce us to think it was one of the latest constructions of this kind of interments.

Can any one then, who reflects upon the exceeding great similarity that appears, upon the whole, in the contents of all the Barrows that have been thus examined, (so different from any thing that can, in any instance, be ascertained to have been either Saxon, or Danish, or Roman,) at all doubt any longer, whether the generality of these Sepulchral Tumuli were, or were not British?

Surely therefore we must differ from Dr. Borlase in opinion, and presume to say, that no further observations need be added, to convince us that the persons, whose memory was intended to be had in honour, by the construction of almost all the Barrows we meet with, in this country, were, nearly in every instance, the *antient Britons*; and not, either *Romans*, or *Danes*, or *Saxons*.

There are, indeed, a few Barrows, of later ages, thrown up after battles; which therefore may be called *Battle Barrows*; but they are easily to be distinguished, by the *vast number* of bones they contain; and by the very different manner in which the bodies are placed in them. And that they are not very numerous; nor a *necessary* appendage to fields of battle, we may be assured, because there are so many antient fields of battle mentioned on record, near none of which are any Barrows to be found: which would not have been the case, were Barrows rightly concluded to be in general connected with such scenes of slaughter.

Amongst these *Battle Barrows*, we cannot forget, that *three* were raised even on the field of Culloden,* no longer ago than the year 1746. Such, however, cannot possibly mislead or deceive the curious.

Neither could those two much more antient Barrows, in the Isle of Thanet, on the coast of Kent, called *Hackingdon Banks*, which seem to have been raised over Saxons, and Danish invaders, slain in one of the violent irruptions of those Northern pirates, at all deceive the cautious Antiquarian in any age. In 1741 they were opened; and many bones, and skulls of men, women, and chil-

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 430.

dren, were found; some just under the surface; others in the solid chalk; where the bodies appeared to have been put in, neck and heels together.* A deep trench having been dug in the middle, and the bodies flung in on each side.

So in a Barrow, in a parish called *Barrow*, in Suffolk, the vast number of bones discovered (by means of carrying a turnpike road through it),+ and which have been continually discovered by further digging, render it incapable of being mistaken for a British Barrow; and plainly point out the difference between a *Battle Barrow*, and a *British Barrow*.

And, as the multitude of bones found under *Battle Barrows* of earth, shew *their* origin; so similar appearances, in certain places, under other Barrows, or Cairns of Stone, speak the same language, and plainly enough, exclusive of the low appearance of their outward form, distinguish them also from the more numerous real British Cairns.

In the village of Wardlow, near Ashford, in Derbyshire, was an odd Cairn, or Stone Barrow, 32 yards in diameter, and about 5 feet high; on opening which, in 1759, for the purpose of making a turnpike road, it was found to have been reared over the bodies of more than seventeen persons, who had been there interred at the same time.† The bodies appeared to have been laid on the surface of the ground, on long flat stones, 7½ feet long, and their heads and breasts protected from the incumbent weight of stones, by small walls (or rather chests) raised round them, with a flat stone on the top; excepting the two principal ones, which were completely inclosed in two stone chests, about 2 feet high, and 7 feet long.§

Somewhat similar to this, was one near Raisgill, in Westmoreland; 100 yards in circumference, and about 3 high; composed of loose stones, and covering a large stone, supported by one other on each side, under which was a human skeleton, having the bones of several others round about it.||

* There is an account of this in Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 240.

+ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 82. ‡ As the remains of these seventeen were found only in the half part of the Cairn that was examined, after it began to be attended to, it is probable the whole number was at least thirty-four. § Bray's Tour in Derbyshire, p. 184. 2d ed.—Philos. Trans. Vol. LII. Part 2. p. 544.

|| Burn, Vol. I. p. 481. 492.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 156.

And of this kind seems to have been the low Barrow situated in the Manor of Crosby Garrot, in the county of Westmoreland, in a common pasture called Bullflat, under an hill. It probably contains the remains of *officers* slain in some battle in the time of the early deadly feuds; but long after the age of the first British Caledonians. And its æra, seems to be pointed out, both by the peculiarity of a wound in one of the skeletons; and may also be inferred, from there being no remains of beads, or weapons found, though the bones were not much decayed.

The whole Barrow was about 10 yards in circumference, or nearly 10 feet in diameter; and not much above 4 feet in height. And upon opening it, in 1792, there were found six bodies placed on the ground, in Kistvaens, or a sort of stone coffins, made of slates common in that country. The bottoms of each consisted of two or three stones *well joined*; and the sides had each from two to four stones placed a little obliquely; over which were laid stones similar to those of the sides, whose edges projected about an inch every way. Upon these six coffins, earth and stones had been thrown about 6 inches higher: and then four more such coffins were placed at the top, and covered with about 2 feet more of earth and stones. There was no sort of cement used throughout: but around the whole were placed, in a circle, a number of flat stones edgeways, with their tops but just appearing above the ground.*

Two other such mounds are seen on the summit of the adjacent hill; and may very well be deemed to have contained the bodies of other persons slain at the same time.

And as the contents thus distinguish *Battle Barrows*, so they are sometimes pointed out by precise traditions, or names.

Thus we may be led to suspect some of the Barrows at least, near *Battle Hill Causeway*,† in Hampshire, to have been *Battle Barrows*.

And, with Dr. Plott,‡ may venture to allow that a Barrow in

* There is an account of this Barrow in Vol. LXIII. of the Gentleman's Magazine, p. 116.

† Archaeologia, Vol. VIII. p. 91.

‡ Plott's Staffordshire, p. 415.—In other respects, and with regard to other Barrows in general, I have ventured to differ greatly from Doctor Plott's ideas, as to their origin;—as

South Low-field, Staffordshire, might be raised over persons slain in the bloody battle fought between Edward the elder, and the Danes, about 911; though so very few Barrows appear in reality, on examination, to have been raised either by the Saxons, or the Danes, any more than by the modern English; who yet raised those at *Culloden*.

It is improper to quit all mention of Barrows, without just adding, that at Biggar, in Teifidale, in Scotland, there is one of a most remarkable kind, different from all others, and of a very beautiful external appearance; being a *square Tumulus*, measuring 486 feet at the base, and 40 feet in sloping height.* This, however, is only thus mentioned, on account of its great singularity.

Here, therefore, the investigation of the history of these curious and most antient repositories of the dead may fairly be closed. They are indeed the simplest works of art; scarce deserving to be named, as having any connection with the efforts of human genius, in its labours to produce works of architecture. But they are so interesting, both on account of their close connection with the sad general lot of human nature; and with the manners and customs of the primæval people, in all nations, even before the existence of the pyramids in Egypt, (to the formation of which, such kind of rude Sepulchres probably gave the first idea,) that it would most surely have been a total want of due attention to the first causes of inventions of architecture, not to have considered them maturely.

It is almost impossible to behold these laboured memorials of the dead of antient days, without bringing present to the imagination those multitudes of people, who contributed their efforts to raise these magnificent high mounds:—in some instances lamenting, with kind affection, their patron, protector, munificent benefactor, and friend; and wishing the accumulation of earth to be an everlasting testimony of the accumulation of their gratitude, and good will, and reverence:—in other instances, cursing in the bitterness of their hearts, the dire servitude that imposed upon them so heavy a

will appear to any one who peruses his observations in his History of Staffordshire, from p. 402 to 415; and in his History of Oxfordshire, from p. 322 to 327.

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 299.

task;—and saying, with poignant anguish, what our Poet said in a burlesque humour, on another occasion;

Lay heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many an heavy load on thee.

The great tremendous day, which shall disclose the secrets of all hearts, and bring every work and thought into judgment, according to the light, and knowledge, and opportunities, which every man had, will shew, *who* amongst these illustrious dead deserved any lasting memorial; and *who* amongst them had reason to wish, that no memorial of their deeds should ever exist; and that even the labour of raising these nameless mounds had been spared.*

May the ashes of those, whose tombs we have thus been considering, as far as is now possible remain in peace.—Their identical persons, we cannot but be persuaded, are out of the reach of being affected by that violation of their graves, which has brought to light the facts we have been recording:—but surely, though we record those facts, we ought yet to say, that such violation can never be heartily approved.—And indeed it must often have occurred to the mind of every curious observer, that the knowledge obtained thereby, is in truth, very little more than might have been investigated, from other modes of information, without any such violation at all.

* Whilst we are considering these kind of interments in cells, or chambers, under Barrows, or Pyramids; and under conical rude vaulted domes, it is somewhat interesting to bear in mind the manner in which the Emperor Charlemagne, was buried; as that was plainly with some sort of reference to this kind of memorial and respect, long after the use and custom of rearing rude Barrows had ceased.

The body of Charlemagne was deposited in a vault, directly under the middle of the dome of the octagon Church at Aix la Chapelle, (a noble substitute, in ages of art and civilization, to the rude Barrow, or to the but little more artificial pyramid.) It was placed, in the imperial robes, in a chair, composed of pieces of white marble joined together; and was covered with gold. It had a crown on its head, now kept at Nuremberg; and the book of the Gospel in his hand; which is said to be still preserved in the sacristy of the church. There was a cutlass, or sword, hung to his side; on the scabbard of which are ornaments of silver gilt; and a drinking horn, formed of an elephant's tooth, is likewise understood to have been hung about the body. But the bones are now removed, and interred under the high altar. ||

|| Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. Part 2. p. 222.

All the conclusions, therefore, formed in these pages, in consequence of bringing the whole of the evidence arising from such researches into one point of view, it is to be hoped may rather become a means of inducing those who shall come after these times, to abstain from such fruitless curiosity; than a means of exciting them to such barbarous intrusion; so contrary to those ideas, respecting the ashes of the dead, that have been held sacred through all ages.

I record all these facts as I find them related:—but it is with an earnest wish to put a stop to such unprofitable disturbance of Sepulchres.

The reflection made by one of the inquisitive investigators of these matters, who was more cautious than usual, deserves to be considered in a stronger light, than as a mere slight remark;—"that a kind of respectful veneration seemed naturally to inspire even the ignorant rustic, during the operation of searching the contents of a Barrow."

The persons whose remains have thus been explored, and disturbed, were in their day (at least many of them), dear to many:—sometimes the objects of veneration; and deeply lamented:—and the very structures and heaps we have been examining, were raised on purpose to prevent their ashes from being disturbed;—and to maintain respect, and honour to their memory.—So short-sighted is man!—and of so little avails all his care!

Yet let all, at least, reap this profit.—Let every one remember the case of these departed inhabitants of the earth may be his own. And whatever mock importance any one may fancy himself to be of now; let him reflect that it will all be done away; and no trace be left behind:—no not so much as the traces of these unknown British aboriginal possessors of this Island.—Let us therefore look further; and beyond this dismal scene; where better science will lead the way.

Of *these*, whoever they were, whose bodies are now mouldered and gone; as far as any of them were sincere and upright; we may surely say, and hope, there is still much good for them in store; more than a recompence for the violation that has been committed with regard to their ashes.

Of the rest; the great plunderers, and savage oppressors of the

ages in which they lived; we may say, in the sublime language of the Prophet *Ezekiel*,* concerning those lawless conquerors in the East, many of whom had actually been interred just in the manner we have been describing.

“*They are gone down to the grave with their weapons of war; and they have laid their swords under their heads; but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living.*”

* *Ezekiel*, chap. xxxii. ver. 27.

For the sake of shewing, with the greater accuracy, the characteristic difference of appearance between the *Great Barrow*, and the *Hill Fortress*; Pl. $\frac{xii}{2}$ is here added; which represents a view of *Silbury Hill*, as seen on the east side, at a distance, on approaching it from Marlborough.—And in the same view are seen on the right hand, as appearing in the horizon, six of the smaller kind of Barrows, such as are so frequent in all the surrounding neighbourhood of *Abury*, and *Stone-Henge*.—Two more, further distant, are seen at (*b*); and one other, still further distant, at (*c*).

Pl. $\frac{xii}{3}$ also represents *Silbury Hill* seen near;—on the south-west side;—in which view the church of *Abury* appears, on the left hand, at the distance of about a mile. And though there have been winding paths made to ascend the summit of this great Barrow, on account of a sort of fair, which is now kept upon it annually; and other cuts have been made upon it; some of which are shewn in this view: yet its exceeding different appearance from that of an *Hill Fortress* is most discernible.

The precise different forms of small *Low Barrows*, will also be better understood, by the addition of Pl. $\frac{xii}{4}$, the outlines of the sketches in which are most cautiously exact.

Fig. 1. represents four of those kind of Barrows, as seen on the Downs, as you approach *Silbury*, on the other side from the Devizes; and which are between five and six miles from the Devizes.—Their different forms (for they are all four different), may help very much to illustrate the appearance of those many others which are in the neighbourhood of *Stone-Henge*; and even the appearance of some of those very small ones near *Addington*, in *Surrey*.

Fig. 2. shews two more, that are a little beyond the turnpike; about five miles from the Devizes, going towards *Silbury*.

Fig. 3. three more; that are seen a little further on, upon the same road.—And,

Fig. 4. three more; that are still nearer to *Silbury*, and larger than those first described.

Fig. 5. represents the King's Down Barrows, as they now appear; which are about seven miles from Bath, on the road to the Devizes.

Fig. 6 and 7. represent two different views of the three remarkable Barrows, on *Three Barrow Hill*, in the parish of Farnbury, in Somersetshire, as seen from the road near Clutton.—The Barrow on the left being called *Blackberry*, and being that near Ouzel.



E. K. del.

L. Stone sc.

Sillbury Hill, as seen on the East-Side.

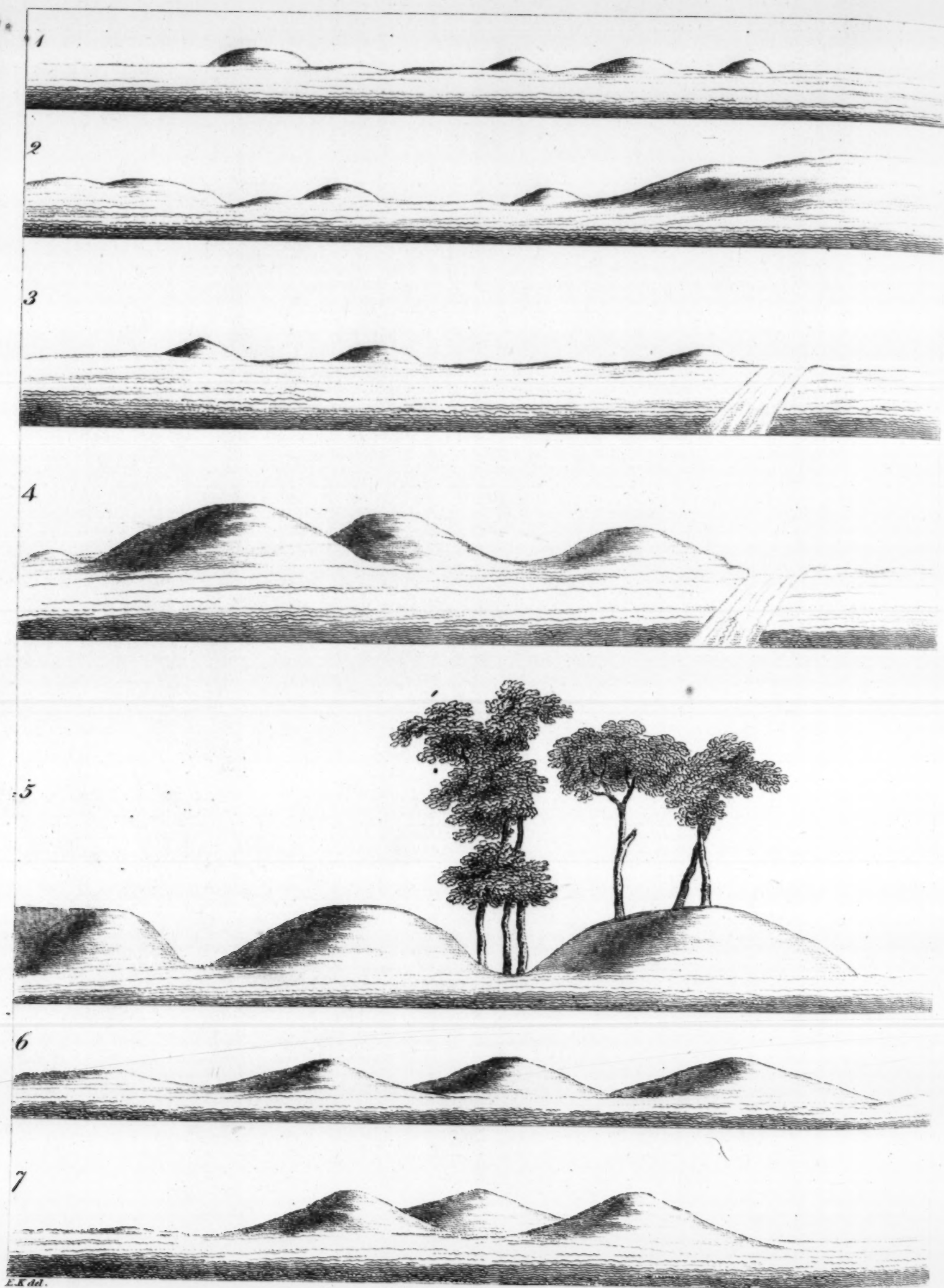
Published Feb. 1. 1870 by W. Wood. 2nd Ed.

17



Silbury Hill as seen on the S. W. side.

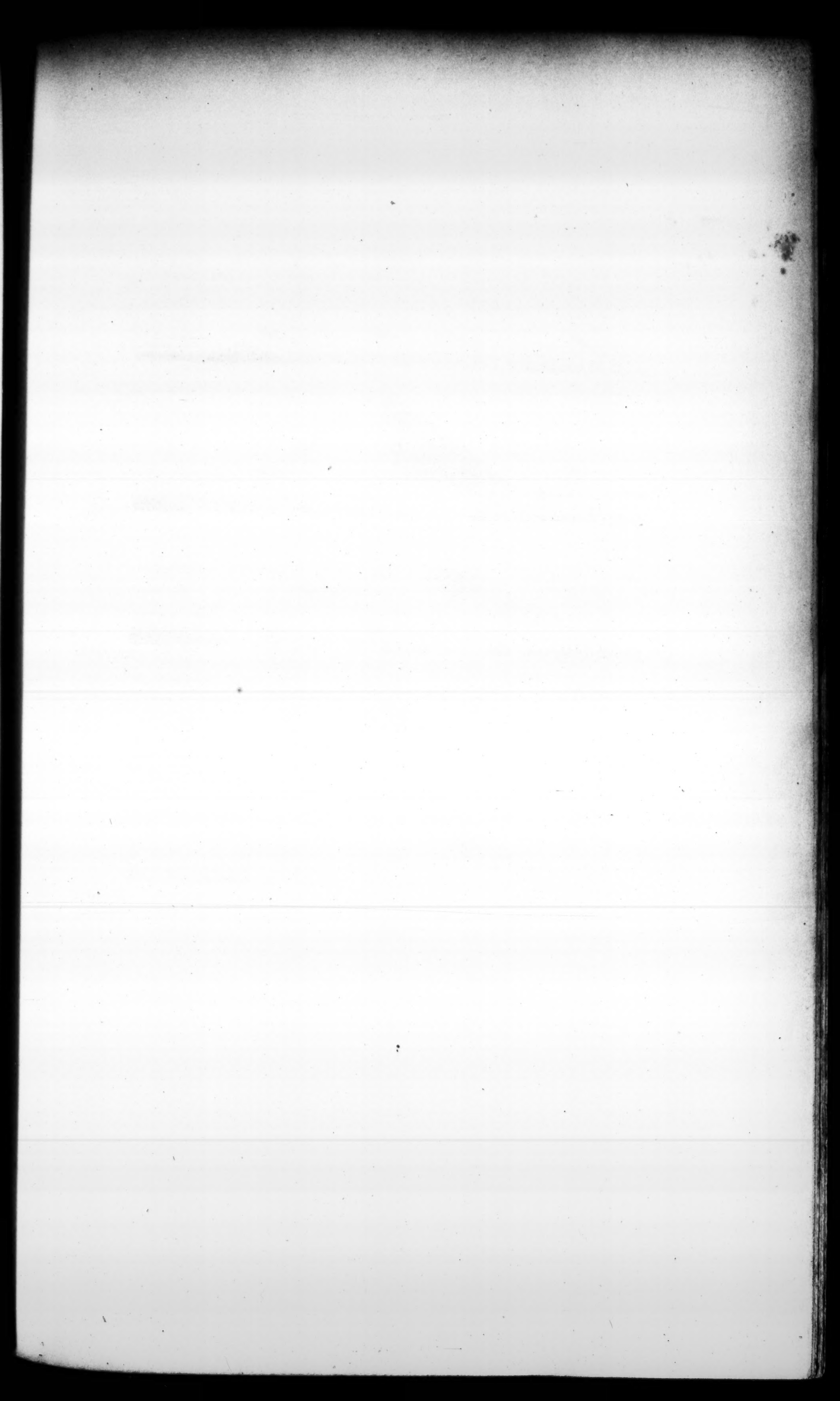
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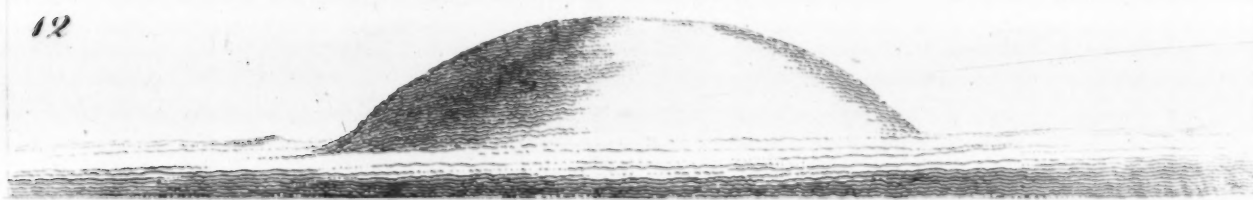
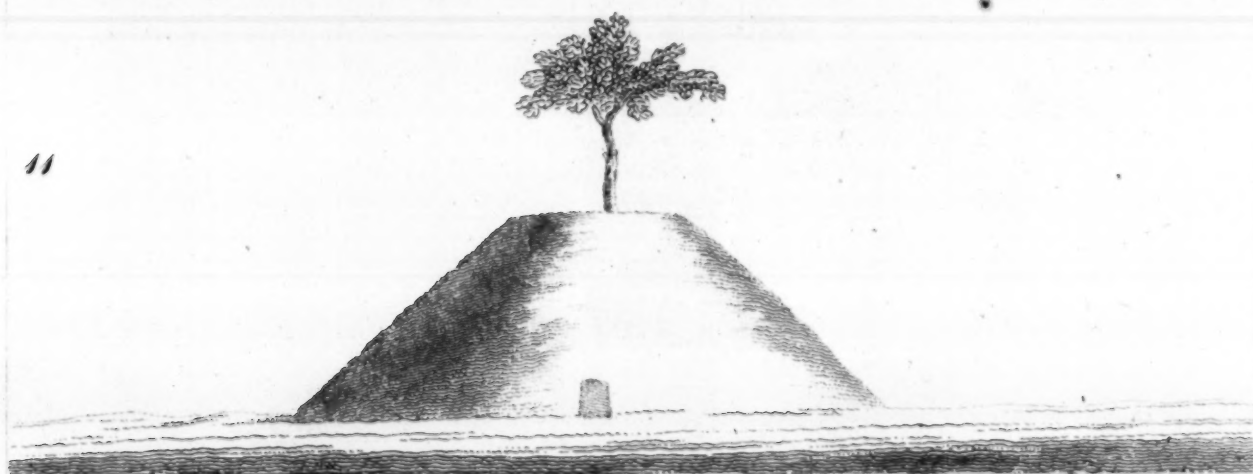
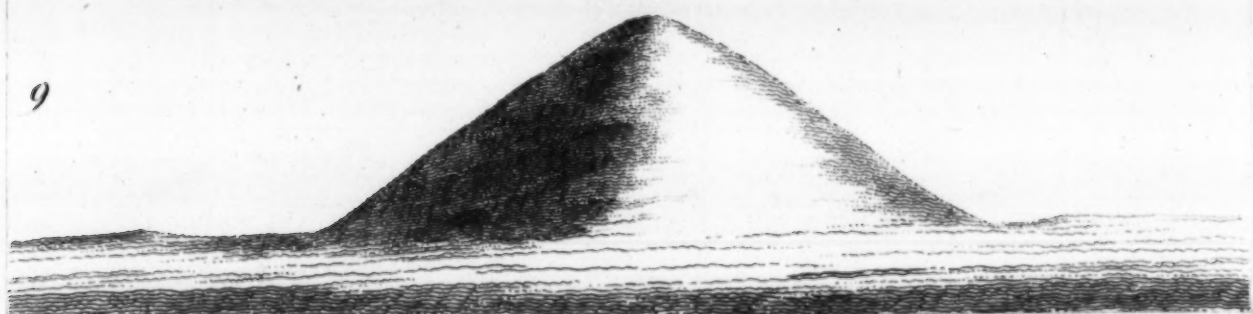
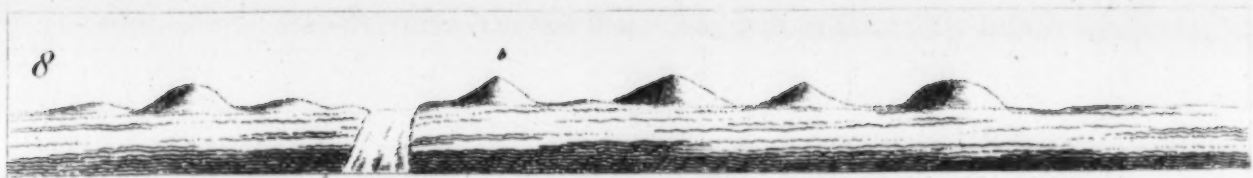


Low Barrens.

E.K. del.

J. Storey sc.





E. K. del.

Variety of Barrows.

For the sake of shewing the varieties of Barrows still more clearly. Pl. $\frac{xii}{3}$. is added ; in which

Fig. 8. represents the five *Overton Barrows*, near Silbury ; as seen at a distance, on the road leading from Marlborough towards Silbury Hill.

And fig. 9. shews more exactly the form of that marked (*b*), as seen quite near. It being that which is nearest to the road, on the right hand ; and which measures about 35 feet, on the slope every way.

Fig. 10. represents, on a much smaller scale, the Long Barrow at *Beckhampton*, which is within sight of Silbury Hill : and which, on measuring, I found to be at least 190 feet in length ; and 90 feet in breadth ; though some part of it has been taken away, and it has been much mangled.

Fig. 11. represents a Barrow, on the left hand of the road from Wells to Bath, near Radstock ; about six or seven miles from Bath. And at the bottom is marked the place where an attempt has been made to open it.

Fig. 12. represents a Barrow, on the right hand of the road from Bristol to Wells ; about five or six miles from Wells.

For the sake of showing the various of the river and its branches, the following is added:

The river is represented by the line which runs from the top of the page to the bottom of the page, and which is divided into three parts by two perpendicular lines.

The first part of the river is the longest, and is the most important, as it is the source of the river.

The second part of the river is the shortest, and is the least important, as it is the mouth of the river.

The third part of the river is the middle part, and is the most important, as it is the body of the river.

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CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING LOGAN, OR ROCKING STONES ; AND CONCERNING TOLMEN,
AND BASON STONES.

WITH regard to the Logan, or Rocking Stones ; and concerning the Tolmen ; and the Bason Stones ; it is almost impossible now to add any satisfactory remarks, or to say any thing further than that such remains do exist.

They were, in all probability, the instruments of superstition in some shape or other ; the memorial whereof is well buried in everlasting oblivion.

They appear obviously, however, to have been works of art.—And because no one circumstance occurs that can induce us to suspect that any of them were the works either of Saxons, or Danes, or Romans, we must consider them as being solely the works of the Britons : to which conclusion we are also led by their massy resemblance to other stupendous Druidical Remains ; and by their proximity to them in point of situation.

But whether the Rocking Stones were used *for divination* ; as our poet Mason has finely imagined ; and as Toland also thought ;—or whether they were idols ;—or else fraudulent means of imposing upon the vulgar, a pretended *divine assent* on certain occasions :—and whether the Rock Basons were for preserving lustral water, or the blood of victims ; or for containing libations ; or for any other purpose :—and what was the precise design of those vast masses of insulated Rocks, which have indeed some marks of the tool ; and of those that are called Tolmen, must be left to mere conjecture ; as we have no records, or clear facts to be compared together, that can illustrate this matter.

All that can be done, by way of explaining this species of British art and contrivance, is merely to shew *how*, and *where*, they exist ; and by what means they seem to have been formed. And in

general to remark, that as they are masses of rock, *on which tools certainly have been lifted up*; therefore they are unquestionably of the *later ages* of Druidism; when much corruption, and the grossest species of abominable superstition, had been introduced; and are on that very account the more inexplicable, because there was nothing in the primitive patriarchal times, with which *they* can now be compared.

We are not, however, altogether without notices of something similar in the East; because Pliny tells* us, that near Harpasa, a town in Asia, is a most stupendous Rock, easily moved with one finger; but which cannot be removed, or made to stir from its place, if you thrust at it with your whole body.

And, in like manner, Ptolemy† speaks of a mass of Rock, called *the Gygonian Stone*, near the ocean, which may be *moved* with the stalk of an asphodel; but cannot be *removed* by any force.

Many of those that existed in our own country, are still well known. And a very few descriptions, with one or two representations, will sufficiently convey the idea of their form.

Near Halifax, in Yorkshire, at a place called *Golcar Hill*, is a stone about 10½ feet long; 9 feet 4 or 5 inches broad; and 5 feet 3 inches thick;‡ which is placed on so small a centre, that at one particular point a man may cause it to rock without much trouble, though it has been somewhat damaged in this respect, by some ignorant masons, who endeavoured, of late years, to discover the principle on which so large a weight was made formerly to move so easily.

It is represented, Pl. XIII. fig. 1, from a drawing annexed to the account of it in the *Archaeologia*; where it is with much ingenuity observed, that the very name of the place, from some affinity in sound to a Saxon word, seems to indicate that this place was appropriated originally to the purpose of divination, or enchantment;—but on such kind of derivation, in consequence of the similarity of the sound of words, no great stress is to be laid.

There is also another mass of rock, at Rishworth, in the same county, consisting of vast fragments piled one above another to the

* Plinii Nat. Histor. lib. ii. sec. 98.

† Lib. iii. c. 3.

‡ *Archaeologia*, Vol. II. p. 353, 354.

height of several yards, and standing on a small narrow base; which mass is still called the Rocking Stone, on account of a constant tradition that it was formerly easily moved; but it has lost that power at present.*

Very similar to the Rocking Stone of Golcar, (at least sufficiently so to prove the similarity of ideas and customs that prevailed in parts of this Island very remote from each other,) is the remarkable Rocking Stone in Cornwall, called the *Great Quoit*, on *Karn-le-hau*, in the parish of Tywidnek. Borlase was convinced,† it was raised and placed in its situation by means of human force, and art. But whether that fact was so or no; certain it is that art, and the tool, must have been used to bring it to its exact equilibrium.—It is as well poised as if placed by the most skilful artist; and yet is 39 feet in girt, and 4 feet thick.

There is also another very large stone, in a very elevated situation, on an high promontory, called Castle Treryn, in the parish of St. Levin, on the coast of Cornwall,‡ which is so evenly poised that any hand may move it to and fro.

And there is a still more remarkable stone, on the island of St. Agnes, in Scilly. It stands on an under rock, which is 10 feet 6 inches high, and 47 feet in circumference; and which itself touches the ground with no more than half of its base. And the Rocking Stone itself rests thereupon, on one point only, so poised, that two or three men, with a pole, can move it. It is 47 feet in girt, and 8 feet 6 inches high; and has on the top a large Rock Bason, near 4 feet in diameter, and 3 feet deep; and the whole stone is of a very globular form, appearing to have been rounded by art.§

Of a kind not very unlike the *Golcar* stone, in its construction, and in the mode of its being poised, was the famous stone called *Men-amber*, in the parish of Sithney, in Cornwall; which was so

* There is a representation of it, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. II. p. 360. Pl. XXIII. fig. 5.

Pl. XI. fig. 3.

† See Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 180; and

‡ Ibid. p. 180.

§ It is described, and represented by Borlase, in his *Antiquities*, p. 181 and 173. Pl. XI. fig. 4; for which reason I do not represent it here; although, to elucidate this account, I am unavoidably obliged to copy some few of his, and of other persons' representations; or at least to represent the same things over again; when it would be injustice not to mention and acknowledge the authority of the accounts previously given.

nicely poised, that a little child might move it; but in the time of Cromwell, was with immense labour and pains thrown down, in order to put an end to the superstitious regard that was fancied to be still paid to it.

It is represented, in its fallen state, Pl. XIII. fig. 2.—The originally Rocking, or Top Stone, is 6 feet wide from C to D. But its greater length was in the contrary direction, from east to west; and was 11 feet. And its thickness, from E to F, was 4 feet.—And there are evident marks of the tool, upon the surface, whereby it has been wrought into a wavy plane.—There was no Rock Bason on this stone itself; but there is one near the edge of the stone B, on which it was poised;—and it may be observed, that a part of this under stone was cut, and hewn away, in order to fling the upper Rocking Stone down into its present position.

An artificial bank of Stones adjoining, seems to have been designed as a causeway, or means of access to move the stone;* and the whole of the fabric has marks of an age later than the early periods of Druidism.

On a mountain betwixt Knaresborough and Shipton, in Yorkshire, is a Stone, of irregular form, which may be computed to weigh near twenty tons; and which is so nicely poised, as to be moved with ease by one hand. And near this,† on the highest parts of one of the adjacent rocks, is a smooth regular well wrought Bason, formed out of the solid stone; 2 feet in depth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter;‡ having also, on each side, a smaller bason, formed each on a prominent point of the rock.

Not far from Warton Crag, in Lancashire, which has been already mentioned as a British fortress; and also near a number of Barrows, or Tumuli, which there is every reason to believe belonged to Britons; are no less than three Rocking Stones, placed in a line at equal distances, about 40 feet asunder.—The centre stone is the

* This drawing is borrowed from Borlase's Antiquities, p. 173. Pl. XI. fig. 5.; and see p. 181.

† See an account given in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LV. p. 360.

‡ It is impossible, when one sees these kind of Basins, not to harbour a suspicion that they were exactly of the same age (though for a different purpose) with those found in the great Barrow at New Grange, in Ireland.

F.1.

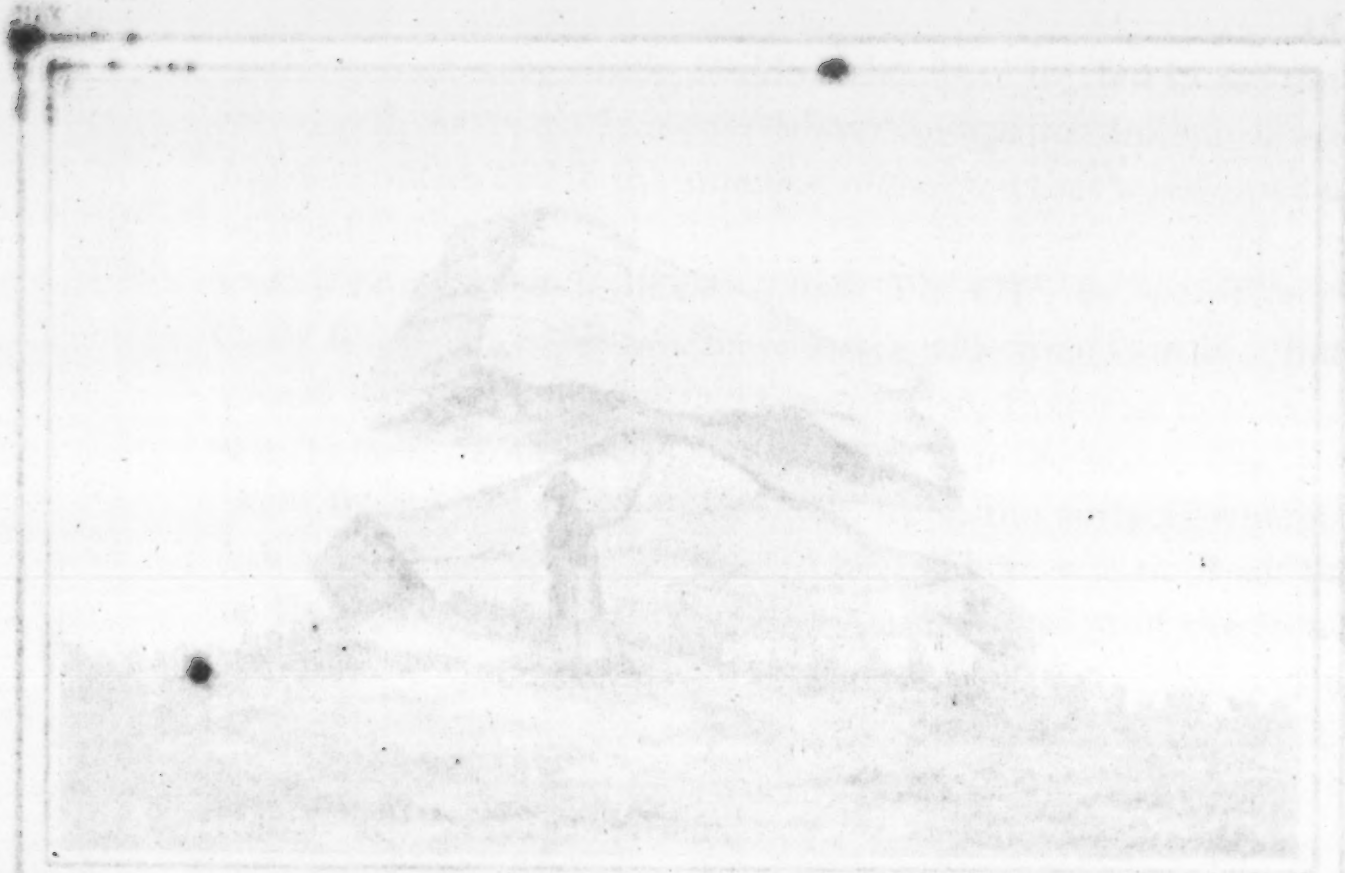
PL. XIII



F.2.



*A Rocking Stone near Halifax, in Yorkshire, on Golcar Hill.
and another in Cornwall.*



largest; being at least 30 feet in circumference, and near 8 in height. These stones have manifestly, by much art and contrivance, been converted into Rocking Stones, by having their under sides broken off and hewn away,* till they were brought to rest on a very narrow basis. And, what is very remarkable, in this instance, there are, a little lower down the hill, on another ridge of rock, three other Rocking Stones in a line, but not at equal distances. Which seems to indicate that they formed such curious moving bodies only in the spots where they could previously find natural rocks nearly fit for the purpose. These last Rocking Stones are smaller than the others: and there are several Rock Basons near them.

At no great distance from these; on Silverdale Common, was another Rocking Stone, 37 feet in circumference, and 10 feet in height, placed originally on the brow of a large hill: but this has been thrown off its equipoise; and moves no longer.+

A Rocking Stone is described also, by Major Rooke, as existing on Hathersage Moor, in the Peak of Derbyshire;‡ 29 feet in circumference: near which is not only one large stone, with a Rock Bason; and many Tumuli, with urns, *beads*, and rings in them, which denote them to be British; but, at the distance of about an hundred yards, there is also another most remarkable Stone, 13½ feet in length; which appears to have been placed, by art, supported by two small stones; and which hangs over a precipice; having on the top of it a large Rock Bason, 4 feet 3 inches in diameter; and close to this, on the south side, an hollow, cut like a chair, with a step to rest the feet upon.—And that this was a scene of Druidical gross superstition, may be very reasonably inferred from the antient constant tradition of the country, calling it *Cair's Chair*.

Not far from this spot are also some Rocking Stones; and of such a kind as seems plainly to indicate to us, like those at Warton Crag, that the first idea of forming Rocking Stones at all, was the appearance of certain stupendous masses, left by natural causes in such a singular situation, by the departure of the waters of the Deluge, as

* There is a representation of them in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. IX. p. 215. Pl. XVI.

+ *Archaeologia*, Vol. IX. p. 216.

‡ *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 176;

where there are representations of the whole.

to be even prepared, as it were, by the hand of nature, to exhibit such a curious kind of equipoise.

Amongst the Bradley rocks, and not far from Rowter rocks, on Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire, is a great Rocking Stone, 32 feet in circumference, which moves with the greatest ease; being placed, either naturally, or by art, on two stones clear of the ground.* And in the neighbourhood of it, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, are several Rock Basons.

Amongst the Brimham rocks, in Yorkshire, is a very curious Rocking Stone, 18 feet in length; 4 feet in width; and 6 feet in height; the bottom of which evidently appears to have been cut away, to form *two knobs*, on which it rests, and moves with ease.

For the sake of rendering this matter more intelligible, it is represented, Pl. XIV. fig. 1. from a drawing engraved in the *Archaeologia*; † and it helps in the clearest manner to explain, how several of these stupendous works have been originally constructed.

Amongst these rocks also are other Rocking Stones, and a Tolmen, (or vast mass of rock, supported by two smaller masses, with a passage between them,) and some Rock Basons; there are also, on the stones, evident marks of the tool.

And in this remarkable spot, is particularly one Stone, which appears to be about one hundred tons in weight, and has manifestly been shaped by art, and the tool, to a small knob at the bottom, to give it motion. This motion, however, can be communicated only by touching it in *one certain place*, about the middle of one side; but soon becomes increased to so astonishing a degree, as to cause much apprehension of its falling, as it is placed elevated on a sort of pedestal. But on full examination it is found to be so nicely balanced, that there is no sort of danger.‡ It looks somewhat like an inverted cone.

The same sort of art is, perhaps, also not less obviously evident, on a very remarkable double Rocking Stone, in the Peak of Derby-

* See *Archaeologia*, Vol. VI. p. 111. Pl. XIII. fig. 4.

† Ibid. Vol. VIII. p. 211. Pl. XVI. fig. 3.

‡ See a very curious account of it, by Major Rooke, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. VIII. p. 211. and Pl. XVI. fig. 5.

shire, called *Robin Hood's Mark*; standing on the edge of an hill, on Ashover Common. For here are found two great upper stones, a sort of parallelopipeds; each about 26 feet in circumference; placed horizontally one upon the other; and resting upon two other tall parallelopiped stones, standing upright side by side: they seem to have been shaped by art, to fit each other: and also to fit exactly with the tops of the two upright stones on which they rest; and are so poised, that the lower stone moves together with the upper stone.*

There are Tumuli at no great distance from the Brimham rocks, in Yorkshire, which concur in pointing out the British origin of all the art that has been used amongst them, to convert these magnificent works of nature, to superstitious purposes.

And this rude art is in no instance more manifest, than in a stupendous pile of rock, or a sort of Rock Pillar, represented Pl. XV. fig. 1.; 46 feet in circumference; and of a great height; resting upon a small irregular pedestal, only 1 foot wide, by 2 feet 7 inches broad.+ The whole has been detached from the adjacent rock, probably originally in a degree by some natural convulsion,

* See an exact description, and representation, of them in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XII. p. 43. Pl. V.

+ This representation is also borrowed from Major Rooke's curious account of the Brimham Rocks, *Archaeologia*, Vol. VIII. p. 212. Pl. XVI. fig. 6. In this first part of these observations, relating to British Antiquities; where the elucidation of truth depends almost solely upon the comparing together a vast number of corresponding Remains of antient works; it was unavoidably necessary both to make use of the labours and researches of many other persons, and also (in justice to their previous investigations) to copy the representations which they have given, where they are at all faithfully executed.

This, together with the impossibility of viewing with one's own eyes, every thing that is curious in remote parts, is the reason why so many of the specimens, referred to in the beginning of this work, are copied from the works of others.—In the subsequent pages, however, when we come to consider the more refined works and improvements of art, the case will be otherwise; and we shall not stand in need of any such assistance.

Both to avoid increasing the bulk of these Volumes, and to avoid the increase of expence, the engravings here given, by way of illustration, are not more than are unavoidably needful; but, for the sake of science, I could even wish, if it were possible, to have been able to bring into one point of view, copies of all the corresponding Representations of these most interesting and curious Remains, that have, at any time, been given by any persons whatever.—An intelligent mind will easily conceive what a wonderful effect such a collection, and accumulation of proof and demonstration, would produce.

but afterwards more entirely by art; the marks of the tool being still visible in many places, and particularly on the base of the pedestal, which has been shaped into a sort of irregular hexagon.

In the neighbourhood of this, but nearer still to the Tolmen, is another Rocking Stone of a sort of orbicular, or spherical form, like that described by Borlase at St. Agnes, in Scilly.

And amongst the same Brimham rocks, (which having offered so great an opportunity to convert them to superstitious purposes, seem to have been so carefully improved, or rather abused to that end, by the corruptions of the later Druidical times in Britain;) amongst these is found, an apparent vestige of an intended Rocking Stone, never finished.—It has been justly observed, that art seems to have been aiding in the singularity of its position.*

It is represented, Pl. XIV. fig. 20. And a fragment of a Rock Bason, either natural, or artificial, appears, on the right hand, at the top.

Nor are we without other similar instances of obviously intended Rocking Stones, left unfinished; which, together with the remaining appearance of the use of the tool on them, is a proof that they belonged to the *latest ages* of Druidism; even so late, that the whole superstition, by means of foreign invaders, and by the just judgment of God, was put an end to, before these works were finished.

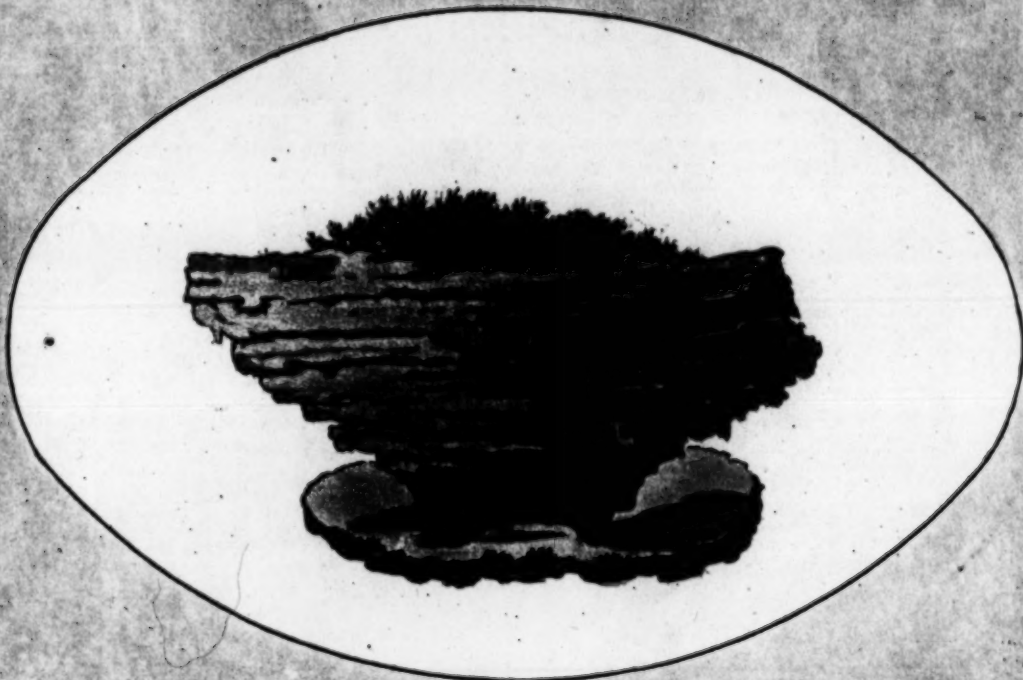
Of this kind is most manifestly that stupendous work in Dorsetshire, standing on the north-east extremity of the Isle of Purbeck, in an heath; and called *Aggleston Stone Barrow*, or the Devil's Night Cap.

It is a prodigious Stone, resembling an inverted truncated cone, 36 feet in the longest diameter of its uplifted base one way; 18 feet in the transverse diameter of the same base, the contrary way; and 18 feet in height.—Its real base, or inverted apex, is 18 feet, in diameter, by 14.

That this vast mass was originally a natural rock no one can, with any good reason, doubt. Neither can any one doubt that it has been altered, and manufactured by art, who either views its form, or

* Archaeologia, Vol. VIII. p. 215.

F.1.

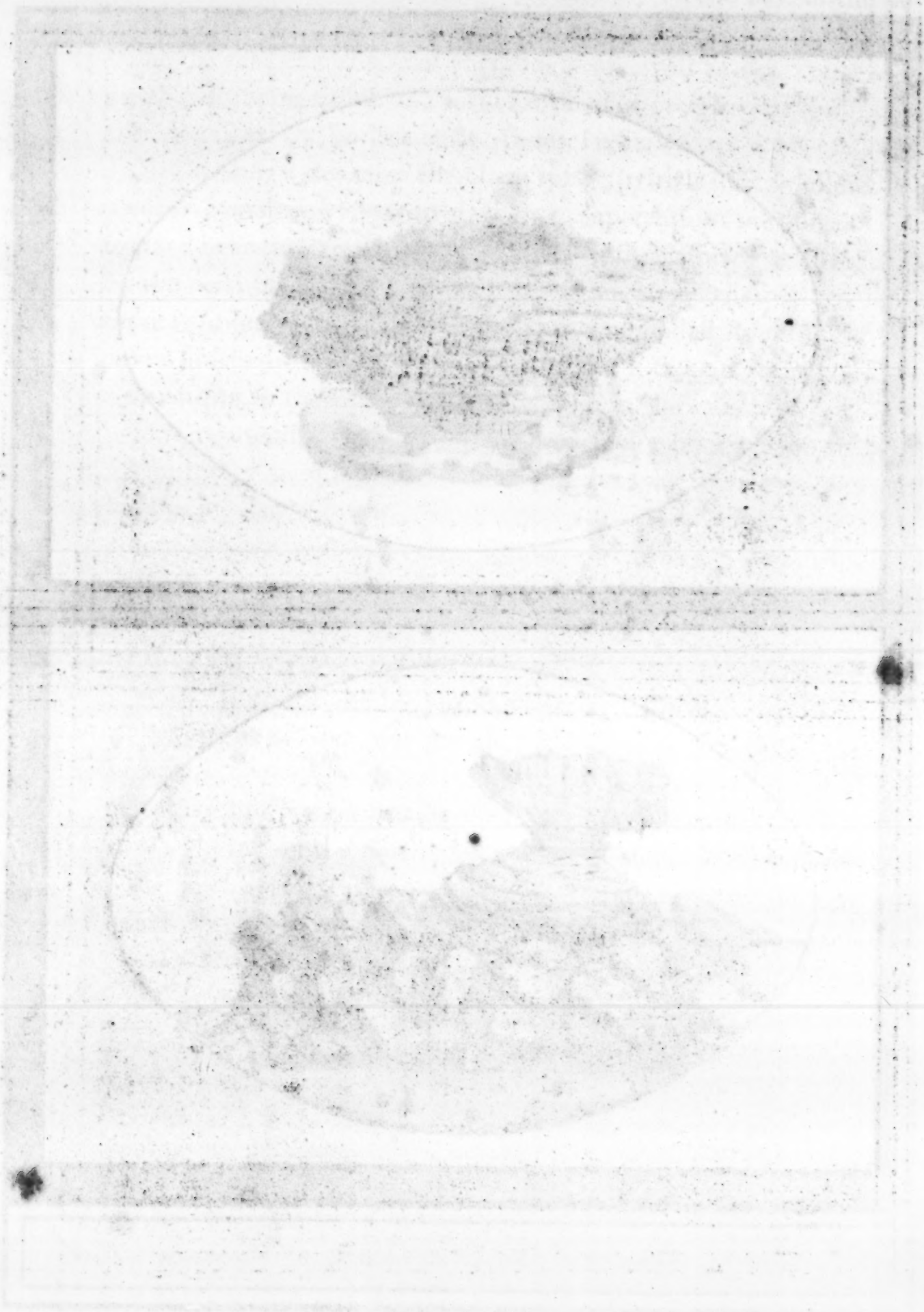


F.2.

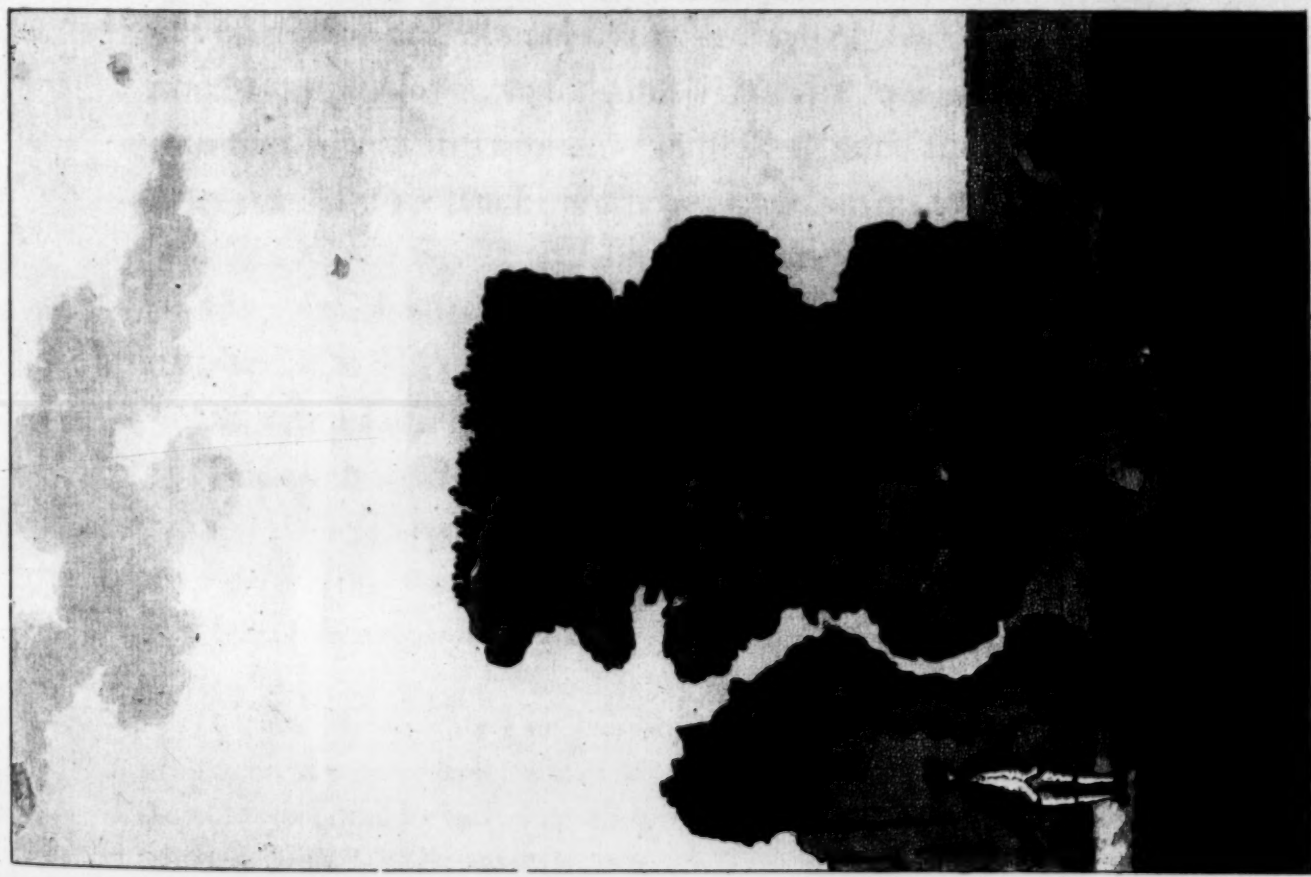


A Rocking Stone: and One left unfinished, at Brimham Rocks.

I.C. Stadler sculp.



F.1.



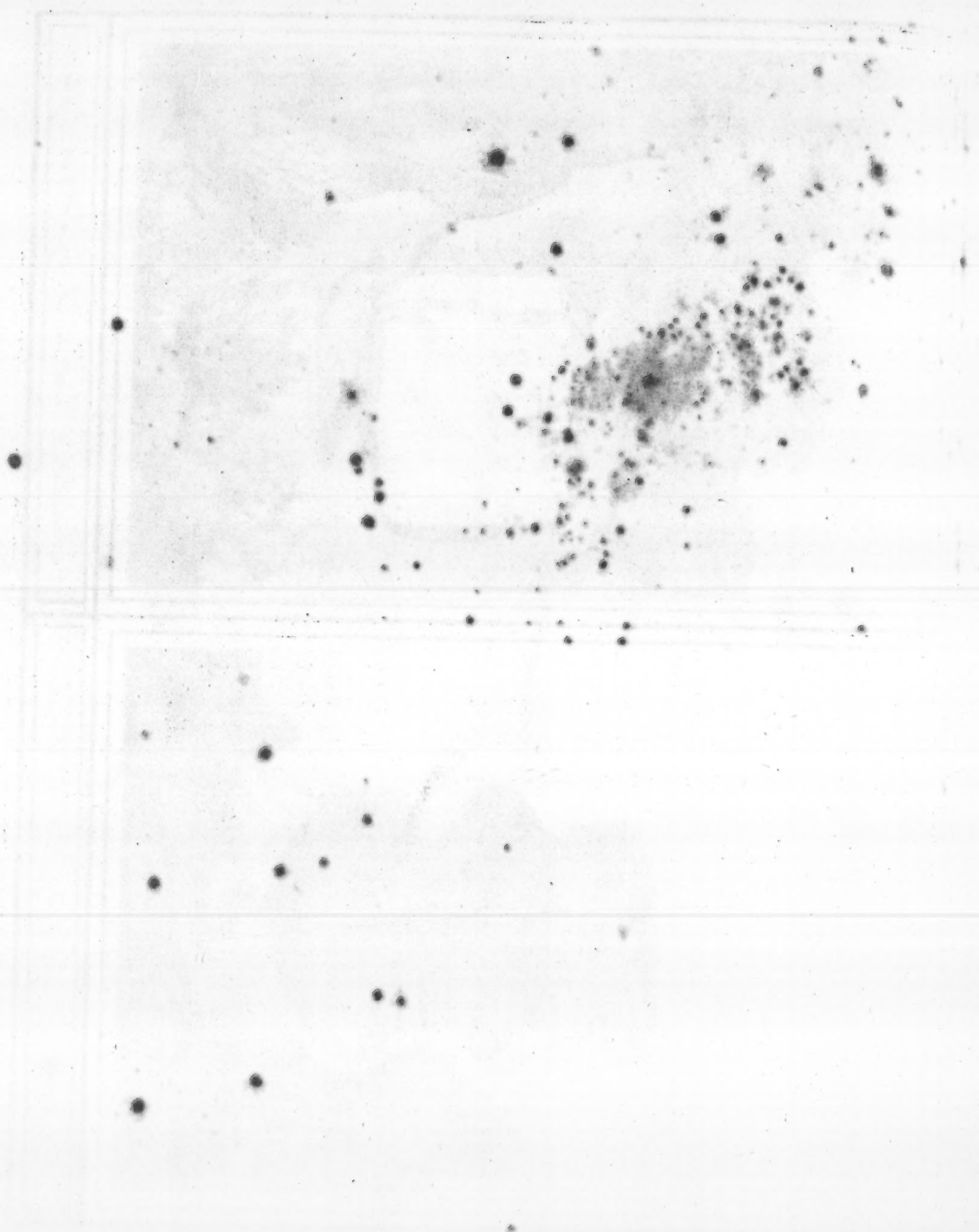
F.1. Insulated Rock aided by Art in Yorkshire.

F.2.



F.2. Insulated Rock aided by Art in Sussex.

F.1.V.



considers the circle of Stones so artificially placed round its base. It stands on a great mass of rock, like a Barrow; and therefore, as it is called a *Barrow*, (though surely very improperly,) and has such a sort of resemblance, it is represented Pl. XII. fig. 2. in the same plate with a real Barrow; which, though such, has also a more dubious appearance than is usual.

Aggleston Stone has, on its upper surface, three Rock Basins, so large, that from time to time ravens have bred in them. And the surface of the whole Barrow, or rocky hill, on which this vast mass stands, is overgrown with heath. Whilst its diameter, at the top, is 60 feet; and at the bottom, it occupies no less than half an acre, and 14 poles of ground. The slope on the east side, where it is steepest, is 300 feet, and its perpendicular height 90. It plainly appears, therefore, that the drawing, for the sake of being brought within compass, to represent the stone itself the more properly, takes in only a part of the Barrow near the summit.—Even *one* of the stones, that surround the base of this intended Rocking Stone, contains, upon computation, about sixteen tons, and another about nine.*

Round about the basis of this stupendous Remain, on the heath, are several antient real Barrows; a proof of its having been an object of veneration and attention in the days of the Britons; whilst, at the same time, its form, so far altered by the tool, seems plainly to indicate that it was intended to be, at last, with much care and caution converted into a Rocking Stone, + either on two points of rest, like that Pl. XIV. fig. 1.; or on one narrow basis, like that described, p. 331; or like that which seems to have been designed to be so finished, Pl. XIV. fig. 2.

On one of the great Barrows adjoining, stood an upright Stone, 10 feet in height, now thrown down; but much resembling the Stone on the Barrow in Ireland, represented in Pl. XII. fig. 1. And

* See a curious account of this Barrow in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XXXVII. p. 169.

+ I cannot, however, forbear observing, that there is now a great cleft from the top of the stone some way downwards; which might perhaps intimidate those who were undertaking the work from completing it, least on narrowing the base, it should fall in two. And this might, perhaps, be one reason why it was thus left unfinished.

therefore much resembling that on the antient Barrow of Ilus, King of Troy.

As Aggleston Stone Barrow, together with the unfinished Rocking Stone amongst the Brimham rocks, seems to have been fitted by natural causes, before it was aided by art, to form the wonderful appearance it now has ; so there are several other instances of a similar kind : amongst which we ought not to forget that stupendous mass at West Hoadley, in Sussex ; whether it ever was destined to superstitious purposes or no.

It is well known by the name of *Great upon Little* ; and is represented, Pl. XV. fig. 2.

It is most fully described in the *Archaeologia* : * where it is justly observed, that whatever might be its destination, yet standing with its stupendous bulk, poised seemingly in a miraculous manner, on a point, one cannot but be struck with amazement on approaching the spot.

It is, in its external figure, nearly a sort of parallelopipedon, whose height is about 20 feet ; and its four irregular sides are, in their respective dimensions, about 14 feet ; 15 feet ; 12 feet ; and 21 feet : but its base, instead of being flat like the sides, projects towards a protuberant sort of point in the middle, on which the whole rests, placed on a similar rising point of the rock underneath.

The operation of natural causes seems to have been aiding in clearing away the earth, or sand and soil, between these two rocks, and in first exposing this wonderful position ; but when one considers how nicely the small base finally left is formed ; and how completely the whole is poised ; it is very difficult not to be induced to believe, that art has also been used :—and such art as might, if persevered in with caution, have converted the whole into a Rocking Stone, similar to those which are to be met with in such different and remote parts of this Island.

A celebrated Rocking Stone was well known in Wales, where so many British antiquities of various kinds are extant. It stood in a very bold situation, on a cliff hanging over the sea, about half a mile from St. David's, in Pembrokehire. It was mounted as it were,

* *Archaeologia*, Vol. VI. p. 54. ; where is also a representation of it, Pl. VI.

upon other subjacent strata of stones, about 3 feet high; and so placed, that a man might, with one finger, cause its tremendous swing, from side to side: but the Parliament soldiers in the civil wars, (just as Cromwell's soldiers had done in Cornwall,) considering this stone as an encouragement of superstition, destroyed its equipoise, and rendered it immoveable for ever, as it now remains.*

Yet it is perhaps even on that very account the more deserving to have the curious record concerning it preserved; though we do, still more heartily than its destroyers, abhor all impositions of superstition, and every abomination.

There is another in Scotland, which, as far as appears to the eye, seems to have been originally a mere natural production; if it ever was applied to superstitious purposes at all.—It stands near the summit of an high ridge of mountains, called the Kell's Rins, in Galloway. It is above 22 feet in circumference; 8 feet 9 inches in length; and above 5 feet high.†

And to return to our own country, another most surprising fragment of this kind, prepared nearly by the hand of nature, exists near Newland, in Gloucestershire. It is, in figure, very nearly an irregular square inverted pyramid,‡ poised on its point, or apex; which, where it touches the pedestal, is not above 2 feet square, and is said to be moveable. Its height is about 10 feet; its south-east side measures 19 feet 5 inches; its north side 17 feet; its south-west side 8 feet; and its south side 12 feet.—The rock pedestal, on which it stands, is an irregular square: on the south-east 12 feet; on the north 14 feet 9 inches; on the west 21 feet 5 inches; and on the south 14 feet. And at a small distance to the east, is a rock scooped into a kind of bason, with a channel seemingly intended to let out the water, after it is filled to a certain height. Whether this was a work of art, or nature, may be doubtful; but the whole seems to indicate a Druidical superstitious designation.

Very little more needs to be added, to cast all the light *possible* on the antiquities of the Britons, as far as relates to their exertions, of

* Owen's MS. History in Gibson.—Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 520.—Description of England, Vol. VII. p. 280.

† See a representation of it in Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 190.

‡ See its representation in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. I. p. 112.

such a kind as may be deemed to have any affinity to works of architecture, or to the dawnings of that art.

And we should take great heed of problematical conclusions, concerning such appearances of natural rocks as may be fancied to have had a connection with their superstitions.

Of such appearances they most undoubtedly *sometimes* took advantage; but *not always*.

Some few more, however, of the most singular of these ought to be mentioned.

One amongst the Brimham Rocks in Yorkshire has already been described.

That remarkable one in Cornwall, called the Wringcheese,* mentioned by Borlase, is well known.

And another very remarkable one exists in Yorkshire; on a common, called Saltonstall Moor, in the township of Warley, not far from Halifax.

It is a sort of inverted pyramid, in height about 9 or 10 feet; having its inverted apex placed on a pedestal of Rock, broad at the bottom, but narrow in the middle at top: round which pedestal, and between it and the upper, and adjacent masses of Rock, is a passage which seems to have been the effect of design. This great mass does not rock, but leans and rests with one end, or point, of the upper part of its elevated surface on some vast adjacent stones, piled up one upon another; + between two of which is a pebble of a different *grit*, so placed that it could not possibly be now taken out without breaking, or removing all the Rocks. This might possibly have been effected by the mighty operation of what are called natural causes, at the time of the deluge; but looks more like a work of art; and the idea of its being so is the rather confirmed, by there being some cavities or basons, cut on the top of the great and impending mass.

There is further, in Rishworth township, a remarkable mass, somewhat of the same kind; ‡ but more nearly resembling that amongst the Brimham Rocks, of which a figure has been given.

* Antiquities of Cornwall, Pl. XII. fig. 1. p. 172. + See an account in the Archaeologia, Vol. II. p. 361; with a View of the Rock, Pl. XXIII. fig. 3 and 4.

‡ It is described and represented in the Archaeol. Vol. II. p. 356. Pl. XXIII. fig 5.

And near Saltonstall Moor is still another Stone, called Robin Hood's Pennystone, of several tons weight, laid upon a massy piece of rock, with a large pebble of different *grit* between them, which is now wedged quite fast.—This again looks like a work of art: and induces a suspicion that the mass was once poised artificially on the pebble, as a Rocking Stone. But the surer conclusion perhaps is; that the wondrous Remains of that dread and most astonishing convulsion of nature, which produced the general deluge, gave occasion to perverse and misguided minds, in the earliest ages of the present race of mankind, to the forming objects of superstitious attention, fit to impose upon the vulgar, by means of these so curiously poised Rocks; instead of leading them properly, to fear and tremble before Him, who hath made all things; in whose hands (as the royal Psalmist expresses it), *are all the corners of the earth*. * Who, when it pleased Him, hath, as it were, *turned the earth upside down*: † and Who *taketh up the Isles as a very little thing*. ‡

There was another species of monumental Remains of the general great convulsion, that seems to have been occasioned at the time of the deluge; which is conceived, by the most able investigators of antiquity, to have been converted to the purposes of superstition in the Druidical and British times, equally with the vast piled masses of Rock; and which, it is therefore proper just to mention, on this occasion, before we bid adieu to the consideration of aboriginal British antiquities.

These Remains are what Borlase calls *Tolmen*.—Immense masses of Rock, placed aloft on two subjacent Rocks, (one on each side,) with a free passage between them.

That immense Remain of this kind, in the parish of Constantine, in Cornwall, is well known. §—It is one vast egg-like stone, 33 feet in length; 18 feet in width; and $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness; and 97 feet in circumference: placed on the points of two natural Rocks, so that a man may creep under it, and between its supporters. And on the surface are several Rock Basins, which are so formed, that most of them may discharge their contents into two principal ones, which lie in the middle of the surface.

* Psalm xcvi. ver 4.
ver. 15.

† Isaiah, chap. xxiv. ver. 1.

‡ Ibid. chap. xl.

§ Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 174. Pl. XIII.

There is another of these, on St. Mary's, one of the Scilly Islands, 45 feet in girt, placed nearly in the same manner.

And still another 33 feet in girt, and 24 feet high, in the Island of Northwethel.*

And it may further be remarked, that amongst the high Rocks, about a mile and a half from Tunbridge Wells, there stands, insulated in the plain, a most remarkable fragment of Rock, of an irregular form, at least 18 feet long; and 9 feet in depth or thickness; and above 4 feet wide; which is supported between two other masses of Rock, and upon them, like a ship on the stocks ready to be launched; and under which a person may pass with ease.—It is in short fitted by its natural position, to be classed with Druidical *Tolmen*: but as there are no appearances of Druidical or British Remains adjacent, to lead us to conclude that it was ever regarded in a superstitious light, or attended to by them; so it should be a warning to us, to avoid being hasty in forming conclusions concerning *such* appearances, where there are not concurrent circumstances, to ascertain a truly British, or Druidical designation.

For it must be acknowledged, concerning these kind of insulated Rocks, and *Tolmen*; that antiquaries may have carried their conjectures too far; and have loaded the Druids with the reproach of still more superstition than they were really guilty of, even in the most corrupted times.

Where there are indeed manifest marks of the tool; or where there has obviously been much artificial design, in the position of any stones; we may indeed fairly conclude there was some superstitious or ceremonial purpose; consistently with what we read of their many strange rites, and observances.

But where the Rocks seem entirely formed by natural causes; it is going too far, to conclude always, and uniformly, from their figure alone, that they must have been appropriated to superstitious uses.

There is, amongst those called Harrison's Rocks, about five miles from *Tunbridge Wells*, a very curious Canopy-Rock, almost exactly resembling that which Borlase calls a Druid Seat; and even more

* Antiquities of Cornwall, Pl. XII. fig. 2 and 3.

boldly situated, on the top of a precipice, hanging over a wide extended fertile plain, which would contain a vast auditory: and yet I should very much hesitate to conclude that *this* was ever thought of, or used as a Druid Seat, or Tribunal.

I cannot but wish, therefore, to hasten to the conclusion of remarks concerning such kind of *uncertain* Remains; although a due regard to the observations of so many Antiquaries, and the marks of the tool apparent on some of these masses of Rock, rendered it indispensably necessary to take some notice of them, before we quitted entirely the consideration of the first, and earliest of the British works of art.

And in justice to the observations of those curious Antiquaries who have at all taken notice of these masses of insulated Rock, it ought to be added, that the artificial Rock Basins found on some of them, so closely connected in form, and obvious designation, with those existing at Kambre, in Cornwall (where British Celts,* and British Coins have been dug up,+ and where British Circles of Stone, and

* Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 117. 173. 265. 273. 281.

+ From an expression of Cæsar's, *Utuntur aut ære, aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo*, (Lib. v. sec. 10. de Bello Gallico,) which has manifestly been misunderstood; it has been sometimes concluded, ‡ that the Britons had no coined money before the invasion, or conquest of the Romans; and that from *them* only they learnt to put rude figures of elephants, and griffons, on their stamp coins. But even to omit the consideration, that such figures very rarely are seen on the reverses of Roman coin, any more than single horses; and that therefore the imitation of them, by the Britons, could scarcely be derived from that source; it is much more probable, that the ideas of these figures to be impressed on coin, were acquired from intercourse with the Phœnicians, in the earliest ages; who from their neighbourhood to, and communication with the Persians, could not but be well acquainted with the custom of adopting *such* figures as ornaments, and badges; figures that are found so often repeated on the walls of Persepolis, and remain there to this hour.

It may further be observed, that the remarkable form of some of these British coins, they being *convex* on one side, and *concave* on the other, as I have myself seen them to be in more instances than one; shews a most striking affinity, in this respect, between the customs of the Britons, and that of the most antient Eastern nations (as an affinity has already been remarked, also, in their strongholds, and altars;) and therefore indicates these coins to have been *prior* to the time of the Romans.—It is well known that some of the coins of Pæstum, were thus *convex* on one side, and *concave* on the other; § and so also were some of the most antient of the Grecian coins.

‡ Moreton's Northamptonshire, p. 500.

§ See Ruins of Pæstum, p. 31.

other unquestionably British Remains are also met with), do lead us, by a chain of very fair and plain reasoning, to conclude, that these masses of Rock, so connected with such Rock Basins, must have been connected with British usages and superstitions.

There remains nothing more to be taken notice of, with regard to British works, and the efforts of labour and ingenuity in those early ages, than merely to remark, that some of those surprising banks and ditches of vast extent, traversing the country, in different parts of this Island, and which are too generally deemed to have been either Danish, or Saxon, may justly be rather deemed to have been, in reality, works of the time of the Britons; if not absolutely British works.

Some of these kinds of mounds and ditches, indeed, do certainly seem to have been the boundary marks of districts, and of petty kingdoms, in the time of the Saxon Heptarchy; and even in later ages. But some of them, (as Dr. Stukeley has particularly remarked with regard to *Wansdyke*, in Wiltshire,) were clearly formed *before* the time of the Romans; because Roman works adjacent, are found either to have interfered with them; or at least to have been made to take an irregular direction on purpose to avoid them.

Thus the Roman way, the *Via Badonica*, is made to go along by the side of *Wansdyke*, taking this great bank, in fact, for its direction.

And of those that were really the works of the Saxons, it may be remarked; and with regard to *Offa's Dike* particularly; that in some

These British pieces of money have not only been found at Kambre, and in other spots of Cornwall, that were long unquestionably, places, above all others, of British residence, and objects of British reverence; but also in Wales, and in most parts of Britain.—Their history has been very fully investigated by Dr. Borlase; and the suspicion of their having been either Phœnician, or Greek, or Roman, has been by him very satisfactorily removed; || and that from other considerations, as well as from their being found in no other country except in Britain, whilst they have been dug up here in such numbers.—Those who wish to see the delineation of these curious British coins, will find them very well represented in Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, Pl. XXIII. p. 259; and in Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. Pl. XV. p. lxxv. See also Plot's *Oxfordshire*, p. 309. 328. Pl. XV. fig. 19, 20.—And the engravings of the British Coins in Speed, p. 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, convey a true idea of the devices, though not so carefully executed.

|| *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 258. 265. 269. 273. 275. 280.—*Pennant's Tour in Wales*, Vol. I. p. 66.

instances there were remaining prior works of the descendants of the Britons, even of a very similar kind, near adjoining.

For whilst *Offa's Dike* formed *the Saxon line*; *Wat's Dike* formed *the Welch, or British line* ;* and may justly be suspected to have been also a prior work.

To proceed to trace minutely these sort of works *here*, would be not only tedious, and useless, but deviating from the purport of these sheets ;—which is, chiefly to trace the modes of dwelling ; habits of living ; the origin of civil, and religious structures ; manners ; customs ; and improvements of art and science ; and the strongest characteristic outlines, and most striking features of the history of passing ages.

With regard to these great and extended boundary Munitions, therefore, whilst we leave the ascertaining the precise extent of them, (like the ascertaining, and tracing of Roman roads,) to the more detailed labours of those curious persons who investigate these subjects geographically, we may conclude with saying, that neither these Dikes, nor Hill Fortresses, nor their dire Superstitious Rites, could at last preserve the Britons from those Foreign Invaders, who were to be both their scourge, and their deliverers, from the bands of dark ignorance, and inveterate prejudice.

The Romans, in the course of those wondrous events, that are solely under the direction of the Divine Providence, Which ruleth in the Heavens over all, and setteth up one, and putteth down another ; and, as was declared of old to Sennacherib, raiseth up mighty powers, merely like the axe, or the hammer, to cut down, and to destroy, at proper seasons :—the Romans, under the guidance of This Almighty Power, came at last to destroy the dire prevalence of Druidical superstition ;—to force the Britons from their torpid state of adherence to barbarous customs, and usages ;—and to punish the horrid perpetrators of those accursed rites, for the sake of the celebration of which, were lighted those very sacrificial fires, into whose flames *Suetonius Paulinus* flung the priests themselves, who stood prepared to have officiated at their wonted human sacrifices. †

* Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 261.

† This dreadful and horrible destruction of the Britons, and their Druids, by the Romans ; related with such brief energy by Tacitus, (Annal. lib. xiv. sect. 30.) is one of

the *many* fearful instances of the Divine vengeance upon the corruptions and wickednesses of idolatrous abominations.—And the due consideration of it, ought to be rendered useful, amongst other arguments, to remove from the minds of prejudiced persons, that hack-nied, common-place objection, that has so often been made by scoffers against the history of Sacred Writ, because of the supposed cruelty exercised by the Israelites, in the destruction of the Canaanites; who were indeed the very first introducers, and propagators of the worst of all these abominations.

Such carpers against faithful history, and against Divine Ordinances, in this instance of the destruction of the Canaanitish nation, where the will and judgment of God was executed by the Israelites, in consequence of an express Divine Command, entirely forget, in the first place, that it was not executed till after much long suffering, and forbearance; during which they continued utterly incorrigible:—for we read (Genesis, chap. xv. ver. 16), that this punishment was not brought upon them *sooner*,—because their iniquities were *not yet full*.

They also forget, that this denunciation was made only with regard to those *few*, who were the sources of all the worst corruptions enumerated, (Deuteronomy, chap. xx. ver. 16, 17, 18. and Leviticus, chap. xx. ver. 1 to 23.) and that with regard to the rest, the Israelites were expressly commanded *not* to exercise such severity upon them; but, before they fought, even to offer terms of peace; and if those terms were accepted, then not to destroy them.—Deuteronomy, chap. xx. ver. 10, 11.

The scoffers against the account in the Holy Scripture, do also entirely forget; that when the Jews themselves had fallen into idolatry, contrary to the admonitions given them by Moses (Deuteronomy, chap. viii. ver. 19, 20.), threatening that they should themselves, in case of such disobedience, be subject to the very same destruction;—and when they had moreover added the last aggravated offence, as the holy Apostle Peter told them (Acts, chap. ii. ver. 23. 36. chap. iii. ver. 15.) of rejecting, and crucifying the Prince and Lord of Life, in his days of humiliation; even the CHRIST JESUS OF NAZARETH, Who is to appear afterwards THEIR GREAT MESSIAH, on His Throne of Glory;—they themselves were destroyed even by a more horrible destruction than they ever brought upon the Canaanites: And that, even by the merciful *Titus*.

The horrible account, well worth reading, is given at large by Josephus, lib. v. chap. 13. sect. 4.—lib. vi. chap. 4, 5. 8, and 9; and it ought not to be forgotten; that their Priests were not only slain by their Altar, but that, before the final catastrophe, the Roman soldiers, in their wrath, had nailed those Jews they caught to crosses, about the walls of Jerusalem, by way of jest, till their multitude was so great, that room was wanted for the crosses, and crosses were wanting for the bodies, (Lib. v. chap. 11. sect. 1.)

Scoffers at the account concerning the Canaanites, forget also, what is related concerning the celebrated, and so frequently admired *Alexander the Great*—That when he took the city of Tyre, he put six or eight thousand Tyrians to the sword; caused two thousand more to be crucified before the walls; and sold all the rest for slaves.—(Arrian, lib. ii.—Quintus Curtius, lib. iv. chap. 4.) fulfilling the dire denunciations of the Almighty; (Isaiah, chap. xxiii.—Ezekiel, chap. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.)

In short; to do fair justice to what is related in Sacred Writ concerning the Canaanites, we ought to acknowledge, that the same supposed objection that lies against the punishment of the Canaanitish Nations, lies exactly, with as much fairness, against the punishment of

any criminal whatever; or however necessary that punishment may be for the good of society.

The Invisible, and Eternal Lord God, present to every spirit, maketh whom it pleaseth Him, wheresoever, and when He thinks fit, the tremendous instruments of His wrath;—although He does not always openly declare His purpose before hand, as was done in the case of the *Canaanites*, and of the *Tyrians*, and of the *Jews*.—He also (which is our great consolation) bringeth forth good out of evil;—and maketh even the workers of mischief, unintentionally the preparers of dispensations for universal welfare, and blessing.

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2. Observations on Ancient Castles. Printed in the Archaeologia, Vol. IV. and
VI.: and of which a few copies, merely given to friends, were printed together in
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3. Hymns to The Supreme Being. The first edition printed in 1780, large
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4. Proposals for establishing, at Sea, a Marine School, or Seminary for Seamen.
Printed in octavo, 1782.
5. Morals of Christianity. Printed in quarto, and published January 18th, 1783.
6. An imitation of the Prayer of Abel. Printed in quarto, 1791.
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9. Remarks concerning the Coins of the Kingdom, from the Clarendon. Printed in
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10. Remarks on the Signs of the Times. Printed in quarto, 1798: and the
second edition printed also in 1798.
- Appendix to the Remarks on the Signs of the Times:—with additional Remarks.
Printed in quarto, 1799.

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